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THE SYMBOLISM OF CRIVELLI'S *MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED WITH DONOR* IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY

WHEN a painter of religious, symbolic pictures in Renaissance Italy wanted to assure himself and his patron that the meaning or meanings involved in a given painting would be correctly interpreted, he sometimes, unwittingly, seemed to insult the intelligence of the Deity to Whom the work was a votive offering, by using multiple symbols of the same or very similar connotation. When such a painter had a strong archaizing, tradition-loving, anachronistic tendency, this "reinforced" type of symbolic iconography was apt to be indulged in to excess. Such an artist was Carlo Crivelli, and such a painting is his magnificent *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Donor* until recently in the Cook Collection, Richmond, Surrey, England, and now, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Samuel H. Kress, one of the ornaments of the National Gallery of Art in Washington (Fig. 1).[1]

In this painting we have the Virgin seated on an elaborate, but hardly beautiful throne, the Christ Child, standing on her right thigh, holds an apple in His

1. LORD BALNIEL AND K. CLARK, *A Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of Galian Art . . .*, London, 1930, No. 193; BERNARD BERENSON, *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, vol. I, 1930, p. 101; E. DREY, *Carlo Crivelli*, 1927, p. 50; E. P. EVANS, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 1896; ALFRED M. FRANKFURTER, *Supplement to the Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, 1946, pp. 36-37; UMBERTO GNOLI, *Opera Sconosciuti di Pietro Alamanno*, in: "Rassegna d'Arte," vol. XI, 1911, pp. 206-207; ANNA PHIPSON, *Animal Lore in Shakespeare's Time*, 1883, p. 442; GORDON MCNEIL RUSHFORTH, *Carlo Crivelli*, 1900, esp. p. 43; ADOLFO VENTURI, *North Italian Painting of the Quattrocento—Emilia*, 1931.

hands, while on the floor at the base and to the left of the hem of the Madonna's skirt is the small kneeling figure of a donor, immediately below which is the Virgin's jewel-studded crown. At the very bottom of the picture we see the front of the vertical elevation forming the dais on which the throne and the various figures are placed.

The thought usually involved in a votive picture including a likeness of the donor, is a plea for personal favor or protection. We may smile at the naïve contradiction in faith implied by this seeking of help from an all-wise Deity, Who at the same time is thought to need the likeness of the suppliant in order to know who it is that should be helped, but still it is an unaffected, innocent ingenuousness and need not belittle our enjoyment of the picture. Quite the contrary, it is wholly in accord with the equally naïve use of multiple symbols.

Perhaps the most striking iconographic feature of the picture is the throne, and of the throne, its arms which are formed by a pair of diving dolphins. The arch at the top of the throne is also formed by a pair of dolphins rising over a large shell which is bordered above with an inscribed band. This type of throne appears to be unusual, if not unique in Crivelli's works. The painting has been dated, on convincing stylistic evidence by Berenson, as of about 1469 — a fairly early work of its creator. In none of his earlier or later works known to me did the artist again use the dolphin motif. The nearest parallel to it, and one that certainly suggests a Paduan source of inspiration, is a painting by Cosimo Tura of an enthroned allegorical female figure, sometimes identified in art literature as *Spring,* now in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 2). Here we find similar, although different, diving dolphins serving as arms, and two diving instead of rising dolphins arching over a shell which tops the back of the throne. It is generally considered that Crivelli derived his art not only from the masters of Murano, the Vivarini and their school, but also from the classical school headed by Squarcione in Padua. Cosimo Tura, though Ferrarese, was similarly formed to a large degree in the Squarcione Academy, and the close similarity between the thrones in the two pictures under discussion clearly points to a common, and hence a Paduan source of influence for both.

As Gnoli has shown,[2] Crivelli's follower, Pietro Alamanno, made use of the idea of the dolphin-armed throne in a picture of an enthroned *Madonna and Child,* formerly on loan at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. In this work there are no shells and no dolphins arched over the top of the throne. Gnoli quite rightly connects this picture with the one by Crivelli under discussion in this paper, and considers the former to have been derived from the latter.

It may be pointed out that while, as stated above, I have seen no other usage

2. *Op. cit.,* pp. 206-207.

of the dolphin-decorated throne in Crivelli's works, Rushforth[3] makes a statement that seems to imply that there may be such cases. He describes the Child in our picture as essentially Squarcionesque, and accepts Berenson's dating of the panel, but then goes on to say: ". . . when we come to the accessories, their elaboration is such that one might be looking at a picture of Crivelli's latest period . . . the throne itself, with the fantastic dolphins which form its arms and frame its arched and inscribed head, has only one parallel till a much later date. No better instance could be given of the way in which Crivelli sometimes, as it were, anticipates himself." This certainly suggests that there are other paintings by our artist in which this usage is repeated, but I have seen neither photographs nor descriptions of any that are so embellished. (And I have seen the great majority of his known works).

The dolphin was considered by the ancients as the strongest and swiftest of fishes, and was frequently carved on tombs by the early Christians, as the fish was thought to convey the souls of the deceased across the sea to the isles of the blest.[4] The fact that the dolphin is, zoologically, not a fish but a mammal, is beside the point, as it was considered a fish. At the time when it was seized upon by the Christian mystics, it assumed a new importance for two main reasons. One was the fact that the Greek word for fish, IKTHOS, was looked upon as an anagrammatic symbol of Christ, the several



FIG. 1. — CARLO CRIVELLI. — Madonna and Child Enthroned with Donor. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 43.
4. EVANS, *Op. cit.*, p. 121.



FIG. 2. — COSIMO TURA. — Allegory of a Season. — National Gallery, London.

letters — one for the beginning of each successive word — standing for the phrase "Jesus Christ, God's Son Saviour." This usage led to the old pre-Christian concept of the fish as the bearer of the souls of the dead, being reinterpreted as the spiritual journey of the soul in the care of the Deity, after the corruption of the mortal body. The other reason (and the dolphin, being the strongest and swiftest of fishes was eminently qualified for this role) was that the "great fish" that swallowed Jonah and afterwards disgorged him, was necessarily closely bound to the subsequent development of the whole Jonah legend. Jonah early became a symbol of Christ because his liberation from the inside of the fish was looked upon as a prefiguration of the Resurrection. The fish thereby became intimately associated with the theme of Resurrection, and hence of Salvation. We find it so used in a quite unrelated legend, that of Tobias who carried the fish as an offering for Salvation. (We may mention as illustrations in this connection, the beautiful little painting by Filippino Lippi in the Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, and the *Madonna of the Fish* by Raphael in the Prado, Madrid).

If we compare the dolphins in Crivelli's panel with those in Tura's painting, we find many differences in details. Neither one nor the other can be said to be more "correct"; both reveal only a slight, if any, aquaintance with the real object. The point is that they were symbolic creatures and as such needed only sufficient verisimilitude for their general recognition. In fact, Crivelli, in spite of his archaizing tendencies, felt no inhibition in improvising the details of his dolphins within the confines of a single picture. Witness the tails of the dolphins framing the

arch, and those of the arms of the throne. Recently Frankfurter[5] has called the two over the arch "fish," apparently in a needless and vain effort to distinguish them from the dolphins on the arms of the throne. This is highly unlikely, as an artist would have felt far less free to tamper with such a well known creature as a fish, which he must have known his potential public would know as well as he, than with a relatively unknown, or seldom seen creature, such as a dolphin. They are correctly called dolphins by Balniel and Clark. Frankfurter also considers the diving dolphins to be ". . . emitting roe . . ." because of the little clusters of tiny spheres balanced on their leaf-like tail "fins." Aside from the zoological impossibility, which is beside the point, this, again, seems to be a needlessly direct interpretation, and one not too harmonious with Crivelli's aptitude for combining and even overlapping symbolic meanings. The "tails" of these two dolphins point upwards toward, and actually approach very near to, the garland of fruit (pears and apples) festooned across the throne behind the Virgin's head. It may well be asked, in all seriousness, if the leaf-like form of these "tails" is not a conscious design to help connect the dolphins and the garland. We may do well to remember that the theme of Salvation with which these diving sea monsters are so intimately connected was also implied in a still older Christian symbol—the grape, the vine being both Christ and the Church, and the juice of its fruit the life-giving dogma, just as the symbolic use of sacramental wine represents the blood, the "life-stream" of Christ. We may well have here a symbol of the grape monochromatically combined in a purely sculptural-architectural sense with the figures of the dolphins. Otherwise how shall we explain the absence of these little clusters of grape-like objects in the dolphins crowning the arch?

As further evidence for our contention that the whole thought of the picture centers about the general theme of Salvation, we may note the presence of two shells, one forming the inside of the arch over the Madonna's head, and the other at the very bottom of the picture. These, together with the dolphins, are not merely a ". . . repetition of marine motifs . . ." as Frankfurter suggests, but companion symbols. Although without flutings, they are obviously derived from the more commonly used scallop or pecten shells, a motif that was widely adapted to the inner surface of semi-domed thrones in sacred art. Now the scallop shell was known throughout the Middle Ages as the "scallop shell of quiet"; it was a symbol of the spiritually contemplative journey through life, and as such was used as the emblem of religious pilgrims. We may recall that it is often pictured with St. Roch and other itinerant saintly personages, and that it was the special emblem of St. James the Great of Compostela, the tutelary saint of Spain and the patron and protector of pilgrims. As late as the second half of the XVI and the first part of the XVII Centuries, religious travelers to Palestine considered them-

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

selves equipped for their tedious and arduous journey if they possessed, in addition to a staff and a wallet or bag, a scallop shell which served them ". . . as cup, dish, and spoon . . ."[6] In other words, the shell is also a symbol of Salvation, or at least of the way that points to Salvation.

As if this were not enough, we have still another symbol of similar meaning — the festoon of apples and pears hung across the throne, and the apple held by the Christ Child. The pear and the apple are symbolically the same; they are alternate identifications of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge in the Biblical story of the *Temptation*. Because of this connotation the apple (and hence the pear) was widely used as a symbol of Death; the antidote to it, the symbol of Resurrection, being the gourd. In some of Crivelli's pictures, such as the Bache Collection panel (Fig. 3), we find the two depicted together; in this one no gourd is shown. Now this concept of Death has to do with physical death, and this in turn was early interpreted as the passage to the life that really mattered — to the world of Heaven and Hell. Death in the hands of the Christ Child could hardly be interpreted as other than a passage to Heaven; in other words, again the theme of Salvation.

Another symbolic usage is also implied here. In the mystical interpretation of the Bible so assiduously cultivated during the Middle Ages, Eve came to be looked upon as a prefiguration of the Madonna — the mother of the human race as a prophetic symbol of the Mother of Christ — with the further implication that Eve was the less pure of the two, inasmuch as she sinned and fell. The apple is, of course, the symbol of her fall. The association of the apple with the Madonna serves to recall the symbolic connection of the two figures, but also emphasizes the new hope instilled into the old fear. The apple (or the pear) was therefore used in many cases, especially in numerous votive pictures, where the suppliant, admitting, openly or not, some failing on his part, still hoped for forgiveness and eventual Salvation. This matter of comparing Mary with Eve also had the tendency of humanizing the former, of emphasizing her maternal aspect, and hence of connecting her with the Maria Mediatrix, the compassionate mother from whom mercy and forgiveness might be expected, rather than the dispassionate justice of God Himself.

Crivelli (on his own or his patron's insistence), still not satisfied with the repetitious sameness of the symbolic iconography of the painting, abandoned indirect approaches and boldly inscribed on the band forming the rim of the arch over the Virgin's head, the words: *"Memento Mei Mater Dei Regina Celi Letari"* — (Do not forget me, Mother of God, Queen of Heaven). These last words, "Queen of Heaven," emphasize the thought of Salvation again; the donor wished to make certain of his destination; he was not asking merely for forgiveness but forgiveness from One who reigned in Heaven. This also accounts for the Virgin's crown

6. PHIPSON, *Op. cit.*, p. 442.

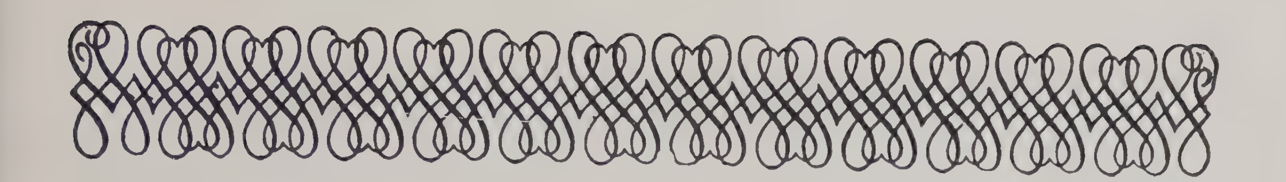


FIG. 3. — CARLO CRIVELLI — Madonna and Child. — Bache Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

— emblem of her celestial sovereignty — being included in the picture, and of its being placed next to the suppliant, rather than on Mary's head. The suppliant himself, as if further to emphasize his piety or his repentance, is clad in the habit of a monk. The unusually small scale of his figure is in keeping with the insistent pleading tone of the whole composition. One can only wonder who he was and what deviltry this scoundrel had been up to that terrified him into this abject contrition. His face is anything but that of a saint. Is it possible that his desire for anonymity — as far as his fellow man was concerned — may be connected with the fact that this is one of the few pictures the artist left unsigned and undated, as if to make it difficult to trace the connection to his patron, and thereby enable others to identify him? Is it possible that we have here a self-portrait, done by the artist shortly after his release from prison in Venice, where he served a term for adultery? If true, it may seem ironical that so devout a painting should have had its roots in such urgent need for repentence and forgiveness. But, if so, we are much the gainer thereby, and do well to be grateful for any good that stems from human foibles. Whether the donor was a passably "good" man with a guilty conscience or a downright scoundrel, the world is richer by a beautiful painting. Aside from this we are given an insight into the apparently incompatible combination of elements of unthinking, plodding, reiteration and of conscious grasping for new and diverse modes of expression, that characterize the strange personality of a great painter whose art became brittle and crystallized through provincial isolation.

HERBERT FRIEDMANN.





ON RAPHAEL AND GIULIO ROMANO

A PAPER recently published under the title *Raphael and Giulio Romano* will have awakened interest as an attempt to take up a problem which was treated in a fundamental article fifty years ago.[1] No doubt there was space for improvement, and certainly a considerable step forward has been achieved; the publication of many photographs and interesting details, and their careful and often convincing interpretation alone represent an outstanding event. The arduous job of tracing down publications has become even more difficult since some scholars, and among them the late Professor Fischel, have published quite a few articles in periodicals which are neglected by the bibliographical indexes. Still, it is a task that must be undergone; the disadvantages of any shortcomings in that direction are obvious and need not be stressed.

Within the radius of my own research Raphael is not a foreground figure but, like Michelangelo — though not to the same extent — one that looms in the

*I am indebted for the photographs reproduced as Figs. 13 and 15 to the Warburg Institute, London, whose valuable assistance in many other matters I wish to acknowledge gratefully. I wish also to express my gratitude to Dr. Develeccio Redig de Campos and Dr. Hermine Speier, of the Vatican Museums. Finally, I wish to thank Mr. Denis Mahon and Mrs. Jean Ziman for their help in regard to the English wording of the original text.

1. H. Dollmayr, *Rafaels Werkstätte,* in: "Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhoechsten Kaiserhauses," XII, 1895, p. 231 ss; Frederick Hartt, *Raphael and Giulio Romano,* in: "Art Bulletin," 1944, p. 67 ss.

background. So it comes about that I have collected a few notes which are of a more or less peripheral character, but may be welcome as some additional evidence.

The frescoes in the Vatican do not seem to have suffered much damage in the calamity which befell the city of Rome in 1527. Only the heads of some figures are said to have been injured and subsequently restored by Sebastiano del Piombo — though not too well, if we may give credence to the testimony of Lodovico Dolce.[2] But some of the paintings were threatened by more serious disaster thirty years later, when Paul IV (Carafa, 1555-1559) decided to have a door and two windows made in that wall of the *Sala di Costantino* which is opposite the existing windows, having observed that torches had to be burned there even in day-time. The story, as told in an article dealing with the pernicious — from the artistic point of view — doings or intentions of the pope, presents some difficulties, because the author evidently did not bother to check up the facts on the site.[3] It is true that the *Sala di Costantino* seems dark even now, when entered from the *stanze,* which have windows on two opposite sides. Vasari quite rightly calls it "low," as it then had a flat ceiling of wood which was fixed directly above the wall-paintings; and the lowness was probably partly responsible for the impression of darkness.[4]

The wall to be pierced was that showing the *Battle of Constantine,* and in

2. *L'Aretino,* first ed., 1557; annotated ed., Milano, 1863, p. 8 ss. PASSAVANT believed to recognize Sebastiano's restorations in the *Battle of Ostia* (*Rafael,* I, p. 264). Some interesting observations in that direction have been published by PROF. BIAGETTI, in: "Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia," Ser. III, *Rendiconti,* vol. X, 1935, p. 91 s.; see also pp. 82, 87 and n. 44 of the present paper.

3. D. RENÉ ANCEL, *Le Vatican sous Paul IV,* in: "Revue Bénédictine," XXV, 1908, pp. 48 ss., 61 ss.

4. VASARI, *Vite,* ED. MILANESI, vol. V, p. 528. Actually it was on account of the coffered ceiling that the *Sala di Costantino* had become so low, having been much higher originally (see: DEOCLECIO REDIG DE CAMPOS, *Di Alcune Tracce del Palazzo di Niccolo III Nuovamente Tornate alla Luce,* reprinted from: "Rendiconti della Pont. Acc. Rom. di Archeol.," vol. XVIII, 1941-1942, p. 71); about fifty years later it was raised again, as will be seen. While quoting VASARI for the first time in this article, a few words may be said about his reliability. In the case of the *Sala di Costantino* as in many other cases, in my opinion his ambiguity is not due to an awkward way of expressing himself, but to an attempt to conceal his ignorance. What little information had been forthcoming on the occasion of his visit to Giulio in 1541, will have found its place in the very scanty account of the first edition (1550, p. 884). Twenty years after that visit, when preparing the 2nd edition, he must have felt that something more elaborate was needed, and some new facts may have been provided by Giovanni da Udine, then the only survivor of Raphael's clan († 1564), but who had not worked in the *Sala di Costantino*; hence the contradictions which make the account all but useless, particularly as to the part played by Raphael. As to VASARI's descriptions, they are never conceived on the spot but written either with the help of some engraving, as in the famous case of the *School of Athens,* or from memory, as in the present case, which accounts for the many inaccuracies. Still, out of VASARI's two versions one fact emerges with sufficient clearness: work in the *Sala di Costantino* was begun under Leo X and, after an interruption of two years, due to the indifference of Adrian VI, was taken up again under Clement VII. Of the goings-on under Paul IV VASARI knows only insofar as concerns Taddeo Zuccari, who will have provided the information (see below); finally, VASARI is wrong as to Giulio's year of birth, stating it to be 1492, while it has been established that he was born in 1499 (see: JULIUS VOGEL, *Giulio Romanos Jugend und Lehrzeit,* in: "Monatshefte fuer Kunstwissenschaft," 1920, pp. 55 ss; MR. HARTT's statement, *l.c.,* p. 68, n. 7, must be corrected accordingly). Some useful information of a bibliographical character is contained in the notes of GOTTSCHEWSKI-GRONAU's German translation (*Die Lebensbeschreibungen . . . ,* vol. IV, Strassburg, 1910, pp. 292 ss.)

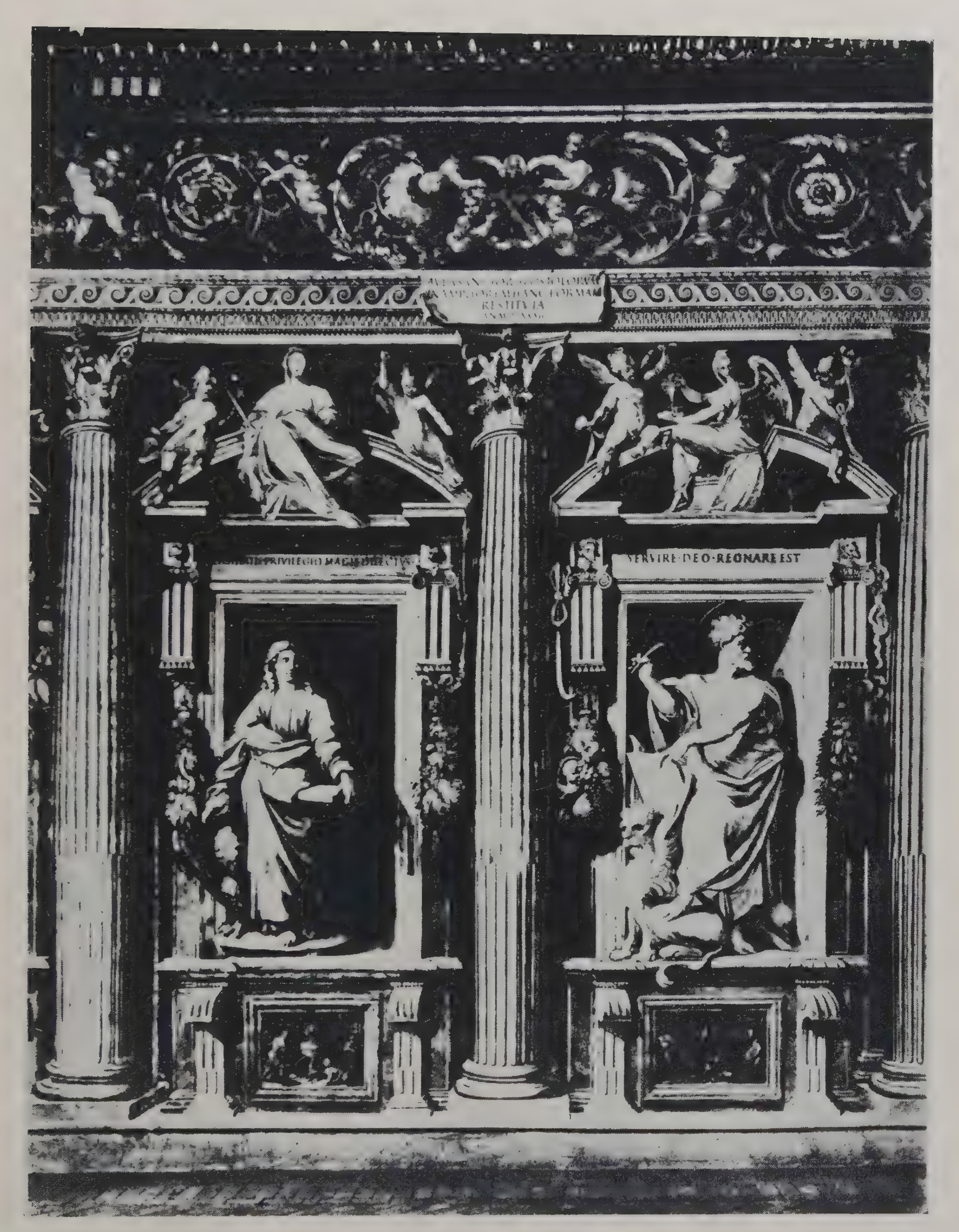


FIG. 1. — *Sala dei Chiaroscuri,* Vatican.

order to obtain direct light the adjoining room — *Sala Vecchia dei Palafrenieri* or *dei Chiaroscuri* (*e* in my plan, Fig. 21) — was to be demolished and replaced by a roof garden. We are not told what was to become of the *Logge* (Fig. 21, *f*-1), the neighboring ones as well as the upper ones, with the corresponding rooms behind them, and maybe the whole affair is partly based on a misunderstanding, or at least an exaggeration. But in fact certain alterations had already been carried out by order of the same pope in another part of the palace, including the destruction of some much-admired frescoes by Taddeo Zuccari,[5] and consequently the general feeling seems to have been that the artistic patrimony of Rome was in danger. As the *Sala di Costantino* was easily accessible, its frescoes, and particularly the *Battle on the Milvian Bridge,* evidently enjoyed the favor of the public, well known though it was that Raphael had taken little or no part in their execution — the term "School of Raphael" being then free of any deprecatory meaning. Representations to the pope were of no avail,[6] and though the pope died before the whole scheme was carried out, considerable damage had already been done.

The figures of the *Apostles,* painted *in terretta* on the walls of the *Sala dei Palafrenieri* by Raphael, had been thrown down; Pius IV (Medici di Milano, 1559-1565) ordered them to be painted anew, and Taddeo Zuccari, who in 1560 received the first payment for the job, is said to have succeeded in restoring a small part of the originals.[7] The indication, never examined, may contain a grain of truth, because in the painted frieze appears the Medici motto, SUAVE, visible also in the *Sala di Costantino,* so that the coat of arms, equally Medici, seems to refer not to Pius IV, the restorer, but to Leo X, the constructor (Fig. 1). Whoever tries to investigate that problem will have to take into consideration some much-damaged frescoes in SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio alle Tre Fontane, which are said to be old copies of the destroyed Vatican paintings.

What had happened in the *Sala di Costantino* is difficult to ascertain, because Vasari tells us nothing. Paul IV had taken over and partly transformed the private apartment created for his predecessor, Julius III (del Monte, 1550-1555), in the neighboring *Corridoio di Bramante,* a suite of rooms now occupied by the *Guardia Nobile;*[8] and so that he might listen when sermons were delivered in the *Sala di Costantino,* a window was introduced there which must have been in the place marked X in my plan. Probably it was not very high up, but was con-

5. ANCEL, p. 49; VASARI-MILANESI, VII, p. 82; see *g*-6 in my plan.

6. *Avviso* of August 13, 1558 ("Roma", 1929, p. 565).

7. VASARI, IV, p. 362: BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Urbinati,* p. 17; KARL FREY, in: "Preuss. Jahrbuch," XXX, 1909, *Beiheft,* p. 165, no. 380; AGOSTINO TAJA, *Descrizione del Vaticano,* Rome, 1750, p. 112; GIO. PIETRO CHATTARD, *Nuova Descrizione del Vaticano,* Rome, 1763, II, p. 292 ss; GIO. BAGLIONE, *Vite,* Rome, 1642, pp. 70, 122, 368; CARLO CECCHELLI, *Il Vaticano,* Rome, 1928, pls. 305 and 306; PASSAVANT, *Rafael,* I, p. 267.

8. *g*1-6 in my plan; VASARI, VII, p. 82; ANCEL, *l.c.*; BIAGETTI, in: *Rendiconti,* XI, 1936, p. 187; XII, 1937, p. 371.


FIG. 2. — *Stanza dell'Incendio,* Vatican (Detail).

tained in the *dado,* thus involving only the loss of one chiaroscuro painting.[9] When the first room of the above-mentioned apartment was painted by Abatini under Urban VIII (Barberini, 1623-1644) and called *Sala di Carlomagno,*[10] that window was converted into a door — which still exists — communicating, through another suite of rooms with the pope's residence in the opposite palace of Sixtus V, so that the always crowded *Logge* could be avoided. How far had things gone on the wall with the *Battle on the Milvian Bridge?* At least the intention to make a door in the middle of the wall seems to have been abandoned, and so the danger was restricted to the flanking groups of single figures.[11] Whether they, or some of them, really were damaged on that occasion and subsequently restored, has never been established as far as I know.

After the death of Paul IV, and under his successor, Pius IV, the flat ceiling of the *Sala di Costantino* was replaced by a vaulted one. The reason is said to have been the insecurity of the woodwork, which may be correct, as in my opinion there were only eight rafters, and these near the walls, each apparently supported by two painted figures of caryatids; consequently the central coffer was bound to sag, being very large and probably adorned with a heavy coat of arms, as is still the case in some of the neighboring rooms.[11A] The alteration resulted in a considerable improvement as to the proportions of the room, but the figures of caryatids which originally seemed to support the rafters have lost their meaning and even suffered some damage. The order to decorate the new vault with stuccoes and paintings was entrusted, still under Pius IV, to Luzio Luzi, called Luzio

9. ANCEL, p. 61. What it was like cannot be established, as there are no contemporary engravings, those executed by Sante Bartoli being much later (cf. MEYER, *Kuenstlerlexikon,* III, p. 56, Nos. 1020-1029). Considering the tall and slender figures of these paintings, there seems to be something in the attribution to Polidoro (see: CHATTARD, p. 208; THIEME-BECKER, *Caldara*).

10. Plan g-1. PASSERI, *Vite,* ED. HESS, p. 263 and No. 1; BIAGETTI, in: *Rendiconti,* X, 1935, p. 92.

11. ANCEL, *l.c.,* p. 68.

11A. For instance, in the *Sala dei Chiaroscuri,* on account of which information of great interest may be found in: REDIG DE CAMPOS, *l.c.* (footnote 4).

Romano; but he seems to have died when the work had hardly been begun.[12] It was started again in 1582, but without any stuccoes, by Tommaso Laureti, a pupil of Sebastiano del Piombo.[13] When his paintings were finished, some work of cleaning and restoration in the whole apartment was carried out by Giovanni Guerra in 1591.[14]

* * *

Some time before, a smaller mishap had occurred in the *Stanza dell'Incendio,* when a piece of the fresco representing the *Coronation of Charlemagne* fell off and had to be repainted by Lorenzo Sabatini, who was in charge of painting activities in the Vatican from 1573 to 1576. The information was imparted by Celio and has never, so far as I know, been noticed. Still, it seems too precise in its wording to be neglected. The figure involved is that of a young man carrying a table (Fig. 2).[15]

From then on, nothing was done to the paintings until more than a hundred years later, when restorations were undertaken by Maratta. What he previously did to the Farnesina frescoes was fully described by Bellori in 1695.[16] Work in the Vatican started in March 1702 and was completed in July 1703; its description is contained in Bellori's *Life of Maratta,* being an addition by another writer. The account lacks in minuteness of detail, while giving to understand that the public was doubtful, and awakening suspicion by the aggressiveness of the defense.[17] Nevertheless, I do not think that Maratta ought to be blamed, as is the custom, for every adulteration inflicted upon the frescoes.

Under Gregory XVI (Cappellari, 1831-1846) an examination of all the paintings in the palace was made by Filippo Agricola, who began and partly carried out some restorations,[18] continued under Pius IX (Mastai-Ferretti, 1846-1878) by Alessandro Mantovani; they and their helpers were not handicapped by timidity, to judge from their proceedings in the *Loggia della Cosmografia.*[19] As to the recent restorations of Raphael's and Giulio's paintings, a valuable account, with photo-

12. Bertolotti, *Artisti Modenesi,* p. 30 ss.

13. Baglione, p. 72; *Pastor English,* XX, pp. 613, 652; Biagetti, *l.c.,* XII, 1937, p. 373; A. Venturi, IX, 5, p. 767; "Roma," 1931, p. 385. Laureti was helped on that occasion by Antonio Scalvati (Baglione, p. 172).

14. Bertolotti, *Op. cit.,* p. 50 ss.

15. Gaspare Celio, *Memoria,* Napoli, 1638, p. 117.

16. *Descrizione delle Imagini Dipinte da Raffaelle d'Urbino,* Rome, 1695; edition of 1821, pp. 165 ss (as to the history of Bellori's book, see: Kenneth Donahue, *The Ingenious Bellori,* in: "Marsyas," III, 1945, pp. 124 ss.) The notice of Raffaellino dal Colle's part in the Farnesina frescoes, inserted by Bottari in the fifth edition of *Titi* (1763, p. 34), is taken from Celio (*l.c.,* p. 127); it has no documentary value, being just a free interpretation of Vasari's words (V, p. 533).

17. Contained in: *Ritratti di Alcuni Celebri Pittori,* Rome, 1731; see: pp. 189 ss, 225, 227 ss, 236 ss, and 224; Bellori, 2nd vol., Piacentini, Rome, 1942, pp. 131 et sq. 143 ss; Mons. Angelo Mercati, *La Nomina di Carlo Maratta a Soprintendente di Tutte le Pitture del Palazzo Vaticano,* in: Deoclecio Redig de Campos e Biagio Biagetti, *Il Giudizio Universale di Michelangelo,* Rome, 1944, pp. 181 ss.

18. Filippo Agricola, *Alcune Osservazioni Artistiche . . . ,* Rome, 1839, and *Relazione dei Restauri Eseguiti nelle Terze Logge . . . ,* Rome, 1842; Biagetti, *l.c.*

19. "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1936, p. 165 s.; Biagetti in: "Rendiconti," XI, 1936, p. 194; see footnote 26.



FIG. 3. — *Ecclesia*, St. Peter, *Aeternitas*. — *Sala di Costantino*, Vatican. *Phot. Anderson.*

graphs, has been published by Professor Biagetti, including some useful information about the previous ones.[20] It was either Agricola or Mantovani — as I believe — who changed some of the inscriptions indicating the names of the eight popes and the significance of the allegorical figures in the *Sala di Costantino,* so that they now differ from those given by earlier descriptions, which means a further complication of the iconographical problem presented by the choice of the popes.

* * *

To that problem a special study has been dedicated, with results not altogether satisfactory.[21] It may be assumed that, after the program of the historical frescoes had been established, the popes were meant to be among the predecessors of Silvester, whose feats, as depicted in the frescoes, they are watching; and for a similar reason Silvester himself will have been excluded. But that rule was soon forgotten, and certainly not understood by the unlearned Vasari. He, in his second edition (1568), which contains probably the oldest description, gives only six names, and though he was obviously relying on his somewhat defective memory, his indica-

20. *Rendiconti,* V, 1928, p. 238; VI, 1930, p. 193; IX, 1934, p. 194; X, 1935, p. 90 ss.; XI, 1936, p. 188 ss.; XII, 1937, p. 362 (the following volumes were not available in London). Any one concerned with the Vatican paintings must study these reports and the photographs taken before the restorations, or he will overlook some important fact, such as the *pentimento* in the *Justification of S. Leo III,* discovered by PROF. BIAGETTI.

21. PALIARD, *Remarques sur les Papes Représentés dans la Salle de Constantin au Vatican,* in: "Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité," Paris, 1884, p. 233 ss. The author's suggestion, for instance, that there are three figures representing Silvester, is unacceptable to me.



FIG. 4. — *Linus* [?], *Fulguratio*. — *Sala di Costantino*, Vatican. *Phot. Musei Vaticani.*

tions appear to have been adopted whenever the faded inscriptions were renewed. From his list is derived that of Bellori (1695) who gives only five names, and that of Taja (1750) who gives only four, so that one seems to witness the diminishing legibility of the inscriptions.[22] Chattard alone gives eight names, which I have introduced into my plan, though his list cannot claim any documentary value, being full of mistakes as to the allegories.[23] In the beginning of the XIX Century many of the inscriptions had again vanished altogether, as can be seen from Pistolesi's plates;[24] consequently some rechristenings seem to have taken place, and today no order is recognizable, chronological or other, as established, for instance, by Platina or in the series of the Sistine Chapel.[25]

Only one of the names is genuine: that of *St. Peter*, who opens the whole series, sitting above the main entrance, accompanied by *Ecclesia* and *Aeternitas* (Fig. 3). Following Chattard's description, the visitor proceeds on his right side and finds in the second place a figure now called *Gregorius*, but *Linus* by Chat-

22. VASARI, V, p. 528: . . . *Pietro Apostolo . . . Damaso primo, Alessandro primo, Leon terzo, Gregorio, Salvestro ed alcuni altri;* BELLORI, *Descrizione . . . l.c.*, p. 125: *Pietro, Damaso, Leone, Gregorio, Silvestro ed altri;* TAJA, *l.c.*, p. 209: *varj Santi Pontefici, come i SS. Silvestro, Damaso, Leone, Gregorio*, etc.

23. *L.c.*, II, p. 210 ss. I have followed CHATTARD's circuit in the legend of my plan.

24. ERASMO PISTOLESI, *Il Vaticano Descritto ed Illustrato*, Rome, 1829, vol. VII, pl. LX ss.

25. PLATINA, *Vitae Pontificum*, 1st ed., Venice, 1479; ERNST STEINMANN, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, Munich, 1901, vol. I, p. 196 ss. STEINMANN has not taken any notice of the fact that the initial "S" (for Saint) before the names of the *Popes* in the Sistine is evidently a later addition.

tard — which would coincide with Platina — accompanied by *Fulguratio* (Fig. 4). In the third place there is a figure now called *Silvester I*, accompanied by *Fortitudo* (Fig. 5).[26] The fourth, accompanied by *Innocentia* and *Veritas*, has been recognized as a portrait of Clement VII when he was beardless, that is, before 1527 (Fig. 6); the inscription, reading *Leo I*, is evidently a mistake, and should be corrected to *Clement I*, which again would be in accordance with Platina. The fifth figure, now called *Damasus I*, and flanked by *Prudentia* and *Pax*, is the only bareheaded one; according to Platina, this place ought to be occupied by *Anacletus*.



FIG. 5. — Silvester I [?], *Fortitudo*. — *Sala di Costantino*, Vatican. *Phot. Musei Vaticani.*

The sixth *Pope*, now named *Urban I*, would be *Evaristus* according to Platina. He is accompanied by the allegorical figures

26. I gratefully accept a suggestion made to me by MR. DENIS MAHON, to the effect that the present state of the group *Ecclesia – St. Peter – Aeternitas* is largely due to a restoration of the XIX Century; in fact it seems to be the work of the same painter who, under Pius IX, restored Guido Reni's frescoes in the *Sala delle Dame*, namely, Alessandro Mantovani (see: "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1934, p. 649). The inscriptions of *Petrus* and *Ecclesia* will have disappeared when the door under that group was enlarged (plan ***d***, wall I, 1, 2, 3), and on the same occasion the left foot of *Ecclesia* seems to have been lost, while her inscription now appears on the pillar above. For a somewhat similar reason — later introduction of a door — the inscriptions of the second group are now missing (wall IV, 4, 5); the name of Gregory I was probably adopted on account of the relief (see footnote 47), while the name of Gregory VII, given by MR. HARTT, was suggested by PASSAVANT (*l.c.*, II, p. 378) on account of the figure with the thunderbolt, called *Spiritual Power* by him and *Fulguratio* by PALIARD. As to the third group (wall IV, 1, 2), the name of Felix III given by MR. HARTT was again suggested by PASSAVANT (*l.c.*, p. 377); the left leg of *Fortitudo* seems to be repainted.

of *Charitas* and *Justitia,* the latter being painted in oils (Fig. 7). The head of the pope, equally painted in oils, is stylistically different from the others, and it has been suggested that it is another portrait of Clement VII, executed by Sebastiano del Piombo after 1527, when the pope had grown a beard.[27] The suggestion, though accepted by many, does not seem convincing to me. Clement was fifty-six years old when he died (1478-1534), while the portrait is clearly that of a much older man; besides, it is not likely that two portraits of the same pope would have been included in the series. Furthermore, Sebastiano's feelings toward the Raphael clan, which are well known, would have prevented him from carrying out such a job in person. If the story told by Lodovico Dolce is true, and he really was ordered to restore part of the frescoes, he would have left the execution to some underling, and that would explain the inferior quality of the restoration, as commented upon by Titian, while no such criticism could have been made of the portrait discussed here, which is by no means bad. The laurel leaves around the head may be an allusion to a Medici badge; but they are clearly remainders of a pre-existing picture. Speaking of likeness, Clement VII, favored by a stately appearance, and Sebastiano with his particular gift for the state portrait, seem between them to have set the fashion for more than seventy-five years as to what a pope should look like; consequently, allowing for a certain amount of idealization, the portrait in question could easily be passed off for one of Paul III, Julius III, Pius IV, Pius V, Gregory XIII, or any other pope of that period. My suggestion is: that the damage which necessitated the restoration was due either to what had



FIG. 6. — *Innocentia,* Leo I [?], *Veritas.* — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican.

27. Plan *d*, III, 6, II, 6; OSKAR FISCHEL, *I Ritratti di Clemente VII nella Sala di Costantino in Vaticano,* in: "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1937, p. 923 ss.; not mentioned by LUITPOLD DUSSLER, *Sebastiano del Piombo,* Basel, 1942; nor by RODOLFO PALLUCCHINI, *Sebastian Viniziano,* Milan, 1944 (see MR. HARTT's fig. 15).

happened under Paul IV, or to some misfortune in connection with the renewal of the ceiling; that the painter was Tommaso Laureti, Sebastiano's pupil, which would explain the Sebastianesque character of the head; that he intended it to be a portrait of Sixtus V, with whom he had every reason to ingratiate himself; and that, Sixtus having died in 1590, the figure was renamed to please the new pope, Urban VII (Castagna, 1590) (Figs. 8 and 9).



FIG. 7. — *Justitia,* Urban I, *Charitas.* — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican.

The seventh figure, flanked by *Fides* and *Religio,* is now named *Silvester,* obviously another mistake, if only with regard to the third figure, equally so called. According to Chattard, it is Alexander, which coincides with Platina, and the figure being beardless, it may have been intended as a portrait of Alexander VI (Borgia, 1492-1503).[28] The eighth and last figure, now named *Clement I,* accompanied by *Moderatio* and *Comitas,* and placed above the exit, has long been recognized as a portrait of Leo X (Figs. 10, 11, 12 and 20). According to Platina, in the eighth place ought to have been the figure of Sixtus I, and I am inclined to believe that it was originally intended to be a portrait of Sixtus IV (della Rovere, 1471-1484); that would account for the arrangement of the zodiac, with the lion in front, the sign under which Sixtus was born (July 22, 1414). The implication would be that the figure, at least in its first conception, is by far the oldest of the whole series, going back not only to Raphael's lifetime, but to that of Julius II († in 1513), who would have been pleased by such an appropriate commemoration of his uncle. When, after the death of Raphael (1520), the paintings of the *Sala di Costantino* became the object of a competition between Sebastiano and Raphael's pupils, Giulio partly transformed the cartoon, con-

28. See: A. VENTURI, IX, 2, p. 351.



FIG. 8. — Portrait of Urban VII, woodcut.

verting it into a portrait of the then living pope, who thus very appropriately sits at the end of the series, while St. Peter appears at the beginning. He added that profusion of drapery by which the *popes* of the *Sala di Costantino* are distinguished from their Raphaelesque forerunner, Gregory IX, in the *Stanza della Segnatura* (1511). Some traces of the first conception may be seen in the symmetrical arrangement of the group, similar to that of the *Portrait of Leo with Two Cardinals* in the *Palazzo Pitti* (1517-1519; Rosenberg 148), and the round canopy with its curtains. Even so small a detail as the beast's head on the stool also appears in the Mass of Bolsena (1511-1514), while the little trees on the *pluviale* may have originally been those of the Rovere coat of arms. The zodiac with the lion in front, deprived of its astrological meaning, was left in place as an allusion to Leo's name.[29] It is well known how fond the pope was of having his portrait appear in the paintings of the apartment; so this one will have helped to obtain the job for Giulio and his companions. The chronology of the wall-paintings in the *Sala di Costantino* has never been definitely established, scholars having been chiefly concerned with the differentiation of the hands. The plan to paint single figures of popes must have been conceived at an early date, as appears from the original name, *Sala dei Papi;* and the conception of one of them, now wrongly called Clement I, I have tried to place shortly before 1513. Of the sixteen caryatids which once semed to support the ceiling, twelve (on the walls I, II, IV of my plan) are holding up yokes, on which — as on Ionian capitals — the rafters were

29. Plan ***d*** I 6. Both fresco and drawing here reproduced have been published by OSKAR FISCHEL *(Ritratti Raffaelleschi Poco Conosciuti di Leone X,* in: "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1938, pp. 361 ss.) with an interpretation not altogether acceptable to me. The drawing, for instance, though of course closely connected with the fresco, is slightly smaller in size, and therefore cannot be, as FISCHEL believed, the cartoon which served for the execution of the portrait head. In my opinion it was actually done for that purpose, but, having been found to be somewhat out of proportion, was discarded and replaced by a larger one, which may have gone to pieces during the process of being copied in fresco. Nor do I think, as FISCHEL did, that the zodiac, an item so full of meaning in the conception of the period, could have been used from the beginning for a merely decorative purpose; in fact, it does not appear above the corresponding figure of *St. Peter* (Fig. 3), though the two canopies are otherwise similar.—VASARI mentions in connection with the *Popes* of the *Sala di Costantino "una carto d'un San Salvestro"* (V, p. 528) which has not been traced until now. The lion, though not completely absent from Leo's horoscope, does not seem to be of great importance in it (HIERON. CARDANUS, *De Exemplis Geniturarum* in: "Opera omnia," Lugduni, 1663, vol. V., chap. XLVII, p. 483). I dare not approach the problem of the tent under which the *Pope* is sitting (R. EISLER, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt,* Munich, 1910, p. 600).

supposed to rest. These yokes, together with the motto SUAVE, written on streamers which are fluttering around the caryatids, constitute the badge of Leo X;[30] consequently these figures were painted before 1521, the year of Leo's death. The same applies to two of the four historical frescoes which have been given the appearance of tapestries. In the border, on top of that representing the *Battle of Costantine,* there is visible not only the yoke, but also the emblem of the ring with three ostrich feathers and the motto SEMPER, another Medici badge which, though used equally by Leo X and Clement VII, is meant here as an allusion to the former, because it is flanked by lions, exactly as in the border of the tapestry representing the *Sacrifice at Lystra* (1515-1516).[31] In the border on top of the fresco representing the *Allocutio,* or *Appearance of the Cross,* the yoke, already mentioned as an emblem of Leo X, is again visible, alternating with the ring. The two other historical frescoes, representing the *Baptism of Constantine* and the *Donation of Rome,* have in their borders the emblem of the Sun, with the motto CANDOR ILLESUS, which is the badge of Clement VII;[32] consequently they were begun after 1523, the year of his election and, as will be shown, completed within the

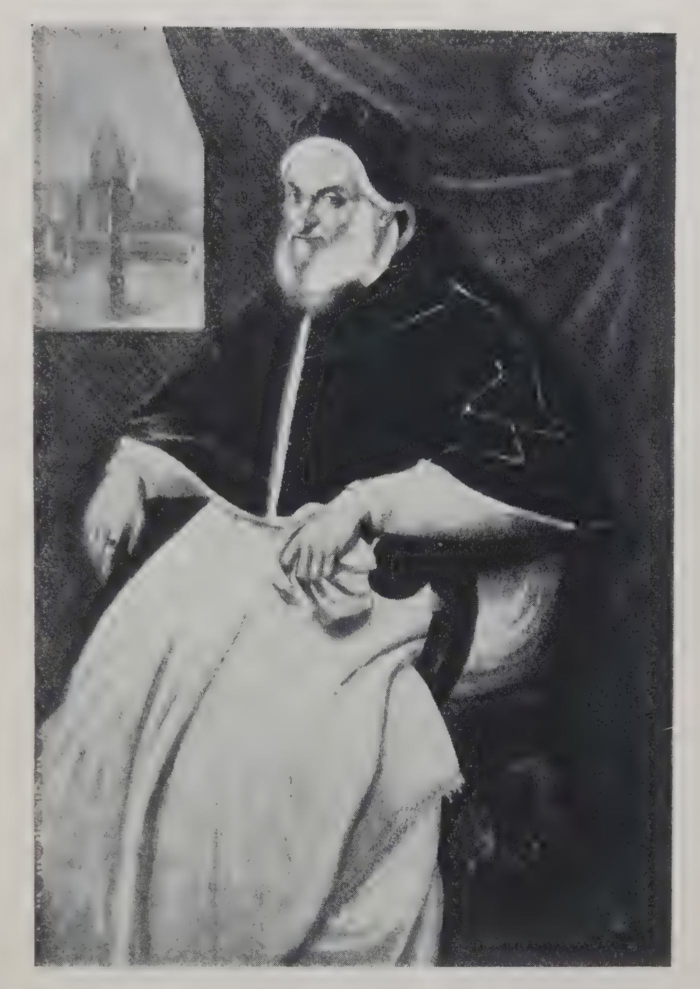


FIG. 9. — Portrait of Sixtus V. — Pinacoteca, Vatican.

30. PAOLO GIOVIO, *Dialogo dell'Imprese,* Lyon, 1559, p. 39; JACOPO GELLI, *Motti Divise Imprese,* 2nd ED., 1928, no. 1658.

31. The badge of the three feathers is not Giovio's invention, being much older, and his explanation of it is not entirely convincing (*l.c.,* p. 41; GELLI, no. 1555; VASARI, *Ragionamenti,* ED. MIL., vol. VIII; LUDWIG VOLKMANN, *Hieroglyphik und Emblematik bei Giorgio Vasari,* in: *Werden und Wirken, Festschrift fuer Karl W. Hiersemann,* 1924, p. 407 ss.). According to him they stand for Faith, Love, and Hope; but that accounts only for their number, while the choice of that particular kind may have something to do with the fact that the ostrich and its feathers are used as a symbol of Justice, for instance, in one of the allegorical figures of the *Sala di Costantino* (see: E. v. MOELLER, *Strauss und Kranich als Attribute der Gerechtigkeit,* in: "Zeitschrift fuer Christliche Kunst," XVI, 1903, p. 75 ss.; article kindly brought to my knowledge by DR. GOMBRICH, London).

32. GIOVIO, p. 45; GELLI, no. 395; it appears alternating with the hawk, another Medici badge (GIOVIO, p. 42; VASARI, *l.c.;* VOLKMANN, *l.c.*).

year 1524. The whole wall which contains the *Baptism of Constantine* has been interpreted by Giulio as an apotheosis of Clement VII. On the right the pope is painted sitting in state, beardless as he used to be in the beginning of his pontificate (Fig. 6). One of the usual caryatids has been replaced by a figure of Apollo, as an allusion to the pope's emblem of the Sun, and opposite to him there appears Diana as a personification of the Moon, both surrounded by streamers with the motto CANDOR ILLESUS. They are two very charming figures, imbued with classical feeling, easily recognizable as the work of Giulio, brother and sister to *Mars and Venus* in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, which, of course, show the heavier forms of the artist's mature style.[33] This lovely piece of pagan imagery is translated, in the lower zone, into the language of Christian allegory, Apollo corresponding to *Veritas*, and Diana to *Innocentia*.

The pope appears again with the same features in the fresco of the *Baptism*, impersonating Silvester, and here has been placed the following inscription: "CLEMENS VII PONT. MAX. A LEONE X COEPTUM CONSUMMAVIT MDXXIIII."[34] I think the meaning of this inscription must be to commemorate the completion not merely of that particular painting but of the whole series, with the implication that the *Baptism* was the last to be finished. There is one circumstance which seems to oppose my suggestion: the portrait of Clement VII in the fresco of the *Donation*, wearing a beard he had started to grow after 1527. But



FIG. 10. — *Moderatio.* — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican (from an engraving by Piroli).

33. *Sala di Psiche* (STEFANO DAVARI, *Palazzo del Te,* 2d ed., Mantova, 1925, p. 21). WALTER AMELUNG has recognized in an antique statue of Venus at Mantua the model for the figure of Diana ("Ausonia," III, 1908, p. 101); she appears, slightly changed, as one of the four caryatids on the tomb of Pietro Strozzi in St. Andrea at Mantua, where one of her companions is copied from another antique sculpture, also conserved at Mantua (ALDA LEVI, *Sculture Greche e Romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova,* Rome, 1931, p. 16, no. 2 & tav. XVII/XVIII, p. 44, no. 74 & tav. XLVIII/XLIX; a short notice by G. LIPPOLD, in: "Muenchner Jahrbuch," XI, 1921, p. 102, concerned with the other two caryatids of the Strozzi tomb was kindly brought to my knowledge by DR. GOMBRICH). No antique model has been found for the figure of Apollo (reproduction of the Strozzi tomb in: BURCKHARDT, *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien,* Esslingen, 1920, p. 54).

34. The inscription is placed on the right side of the painting, while on the left side is another one which says: *Lavacrum Renascentis Vitae C. Val. Constantini,* evidently an allusion to the legend of the Emperor's healing from leprosy by the holy water. PASSAVANT believed that the two inscriptions belong together and are meant to memorize the restoration of the Lateran Baptisterium (II, 372).

evidently work on that wall was begun under Leo X, as is shown by the caryatids which carry his badge, and therefore it will have been taken up here under Clement VII, after the interruption under Adrian VI (1522-1523). The foreground figures of the fresco have been convincingly ascribed to Giulio,[35] while the background figures, including that of the pope, by another and much lesser hand, must be those which after the sack of 1527 had to be repainted. They are weak enough to justify the disdainful comment made — according to Lodovico Dolce — by Titian (that is, in 1545 or 1546) in a conversation with Sebastiano del Piombo, not knowing, or pretending not to know, that Sebastiano was responsible for the restoration.



FIG. 11. — *Comitas.* — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican (from an engraving by Piroli).

Among these figures there is one in which a reminiscence of Sebastiano's style seems actually detectable: it is that of an old gentleman wearing a very conspicuous white cross on his chest, and, in my opinion, representing the Grandmaster of the order of St. John, Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, as can be ascertained by comparison with his portraits on coins (Fig. 13). After the fall of Rhodes he came to Rome in September 1523, in order to negotiate the concession of another residence for the order, and in 1530 obtained the assignment of the Isle of Malta, confirmed by Clement VII in a bull of the same year.[36] Accordingly, the repainting of these figures would have taken place between 1527 and 1530.

Thus, the chronological order in which the wall-paintings of the *Sala di Costantino* were executed would be the following:

FIRST PERIOD, pontificate of Leo X, that is, from 1517, when the *Stanza dell'Incendio* was completed, to 1521, when Leo died: WALL I, comprising *Aeternitas, S. Peter Ecclesia, Allocution, Moderatio, "Clement" I,* and *Comitas;*

35. HARTT, *l.c.,* p. 80.
36. S. JACOMO BOSIO, *Historia della S. Religione di S. Giovanni. . . .* 1594 ss. part III, p. 24; CANON H. CALLEJA SCHEMBRI, *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta,* London, 1908, p. 21 ss., pl. I, figs. 2 and 3. CECCHELLI's statement (*l.c.,* p. 86) that the figure of Constantine in the *Donation* was added under Gregory XIII, is due to a misinterpretation of PASTOR's text (Engl. ED., vol. XX, p. 613 s.).

WALL II, comprising *Fides, Alexander, Religio, the Battle, Justitia, Urban, Charitas;* WALL IV, the caryatids only;

SECOND PERIOD, pontificate of Clement VII, that is, from November 1523, when he was elected, to October 1524, when Giulio left for Mantua: THE REST OF WALL IV, comprising *Fulguratio, "Linus," Donation, Silvester,* and *Fortitudo*; THE WHOLE OF WALL III, comprising *Veritas, "Leo," Innocentia, Baptism, Pax, Damasus,* and *Prudentia.*

The chronology suggested here is confirmed by the testimony of Baldassare Castiglione, who in a letter of December 16, 1521 says that more than half of the work was done, while on September 5, 1524 he indicates its completion.[37]

And to what extent, if at all, does Raphael come in? It seems unlikely that he, having finished the frescoes of the *Stanza dell'Incendio* in 1517, should have contributed nothing, in his last three years, toward the completion of the *Sala di Costantino,* the most stately room of the whole apartment. Besides, the amount of work executed there under the pontificate of Leo X is too big to be compressed into the short period between Raphael's death, April 6, 1520, and that of Leo, December 1, 1521, even supposing that work was taken up by the pupils immediately, which we know was not the case, as even at the end of October 1520 neither all the subjects to be painted nor the artists had been definitely chosen.[38] Therefore nothing is left but to accept Vasari's statement that the Leonine epoch of the *Sala di Costantino* reaches back into Raphael's lifetime. He tells us of the master's decision to abandon the fresco technique in favor of oil, which in my opinion can only mean an attempt to give to the wall painting a deeper coloring. Giulio found a way to obtain the desired sonorous effect though reverting to fresco painting; he is said to have respected two allegorical figures executed previously in oil, and in fact these two figures are situated on walls on which appear the emblems of Leo X. One of them, called *Comitas* (Fig. 11), is strikingly Raphaelesque in style and closely related to the so-called *Fornarina* (dated "about 1516" by Rosenberg);[39] very different from her companion, called *Moderatio* (Fig. 10), whose later conception is made clear by the much more complicated pose, the agitated outline, and the development in depth. Around the other, called *Justitia* (Fig. 14) there are actually visible the "seams" dividing it from the somewhat later portions which are painted in fresco.[40] Other details executed under Leo X are related to the tapestries (1515-1516), particularly so is the group of *Charity* (Fig. 7), which appears in a vertical border on

37. ALESSANDRO LUZIO, in: "Rassegna Bibliografica dell'Arte Italiana," 1906, p. 137.

38. AURELIO GOTTI, *Vita di Michelangelo,* Florence, 1875, I, p. 137 ss.

39. The figure (called *Clemenza* by CECCHELLI, *l.c.,* p. 303), inspired by Michelangelo's *Madonna della Scala,* has found the way back into the neighborhood of her originator, being closely related to Raffaello da Montelupo's Sybil on the *Tomb of Julius II.*

40. For the ostrich as a symbol of Justice, see footnote 31.



FIG. 12. — Clemens I [?]. — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican.

the *Death of Ananias;*[41] the remaining figures of popes and allegories, insofar as they belong to the same period, may be interpreted as more or less free variations of Raphael's melodies.

Concerning the two historical frescoes, some details of the *Battle on the Milvian Bridge* are derived from the *Logge* (finished 1519), where points of comparison can be found in *David's Fight with Goliath,* and *Joshua Staying the Sun,* while a horse in the *Passage Through the Red Sea* is very similar to that of Maxentius; but I can see no such relations in the *Appearance of the Cross,* though Vasari in his first edition believed that fresco to be even nearer to Raphael's time. The conception of the two stories and their execution as a whole evidently belongs to the period between Raphael's and Leo's deaths.

41. EUGÈNE MUENTZ, *Les Tapisseries de Raphael,* Paris, 1897, p. 29 ss.; ERNST STEINMANN, *Die Anordnung der Teppiche Raffaels in der Sixtinischen Kapelle,* in: "Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen," XXIII, 1902, p. 195; EDOUARD GERSPACH, *Les Bordures de la Tapisserie Les Actes des Apôtres . . . ,* Paris, 1905; by the same author: *Les Actes des Apôtres,* in: *Grand Almanach du Monde Catholique,* 1910, p. 113 ss.; E. KUMSCH, *Die Apostel-Geschichte . . . ,* Dresden, 1914, p. 46 ss. and pl. 11. The group has not been included by PROF. WIND in his interesting study on *Charity* (in: "Journal of the Warburg Institute," I, 1937, p. 322 ss.), being of a different type, which one may call the "Tellus" type, though I do not suggest that the group of the *Sala di Costantino* can be derived from the *Ara Pacis* relief, which was brought to light much later. Unquestionably a derivation of "Tellus" is a painting by Albani in Palazzo Verospi; but it is not *Charity* as DR. BODMER strangely calls it (see: "Pantheon," XVIII, 1936, p. 368), being clearly characterized as *Night* by the wings, the owl and the sleeping children.

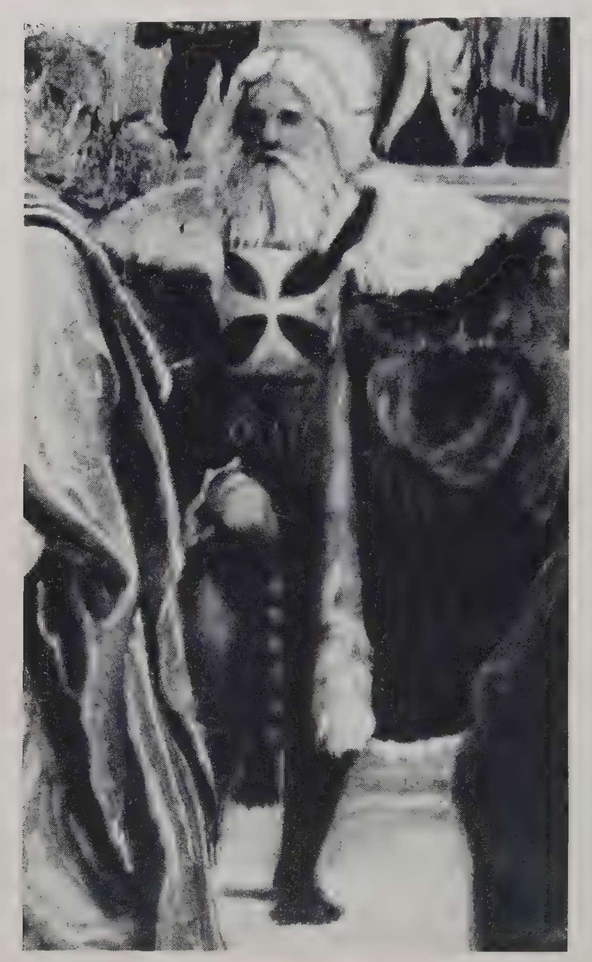


FIG. 13. — Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Grandmaster of the Order of St. John. — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican.

The work done under Clement VII, though smaller, also seems considerable for having been achieved in eleven months. It is true that both Raphael and Giulio had a way to simplify the task. On three walls the same design is used for each pair of canopies; likewise each pair of caryatids is repeated inversely on the same wall — a proceeding particularly disillusioning in the case of *Apollo and Diana,* and still more so in that of some figures of popes, though these are not literally repeated (Figs. 4 and 5). For one figure, that of the pope called Damasus, a drawing by Raphael may have existed, as is suggested by its relation with the figure on the left side in the *Madonna di S. Sisto* (1516).[42] But even in that one, and much more in the others, an ever-growing influence of Michelangelo's *Prophets* and *Sybils* is perceptible, culminating in the so-called *Gregory,* or rather *Linus* (Fig. 4). Besides, the angel-attendants have been increased in number; they are more actively connected with their masters, and there is a tendency to arrange them diagonally, not symmetrically, as in the preceding period.

Among the allegorical figures of that period, one, called *Innocentia* (Fig. 6), shows the refined form of undress which was to become a favorite item in the second half of the century, nor could the nakedness of her companion, *Veritas,* be interpreted as classical, the pose being derived from one of the *Slaves* on the Sistine vault; but stylistically the most advanced of the whole series is the figure, or rather group, of *Fortitudo* (Fig. 5), inspired as to the upper part of the body by Michelangelo's *Christ* in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, and copied repeatedly by Vasari in the frescoes of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. In the four historical frescoes the difference between the two periods is equally noticeable;

42. The so-called Damasus is visible in CECCHELLI, p. 296.

the *ambiente* of late Antiquity, depicted in the first pair,[43] has been replaced in the second by that of early Christianity, enriched — or rather disturbed — by many portrait figures in modern dress.[44] Protagonist is now the pope, before whom the Emperor is shown kneeling; and in order to obtain the intended effect, the program as previously established had to be altered.[45] Perhaps the beginning of the controversy over the *Donation of Constantine* was one of the reasons for the change,[46] but generally it must be assumed that the pontificate of Adrian had left its trace, making it impossible to take up things under Clement VII just where they had been left under Leo X. Dollmayr rightly observed that each of the two pairs forms a stylistic unity, different from each other; yet the similarity of style is not due to the execution by the same artist, as he believed, but to the conception at the same period.

* * *

43. A series of drawings after Roman Antique sculptures — sarcophagi, Trajan's column, etc. — executed toward 1515 has been ascribed to Giulio by C. ROBERT (*Ueber ein dem Michelangelo zugeschriebenes Skizzenbuch auf Schloss Wolfegg,* in: "Roem. Mitteilungen," XVI, 1901, p. 209 ss.), with arguments not altogether conclusive. The attribution has been rejected by WICKHOFF (*Festschrift fuer Th. Gomperz,* 1902; reprinted in: *Abhandlungen,* 1913, p. 277); but his own suggestion, to see in the drawings the work of an armorer, seems not very convincing either, and the attribution to Guercino of *A Man's Head With a Helmet,* certainly of a much later date, is not accepted by MR. DENIS MAHON, who is making a special study of that artist and was kind enough to let me know his opinion. Lately, the drawings have been referred to as the work of Amico Aspertini, though I do not know on what grounds (H. EGGER, in: *Schlosser-Festschrift,* 1927, p. 122 ss.); (this and WICKHOFF's article have been kindly indicated to me by DR. O. KURZ); after all, they may have something to do with the *Sala di Costantino,* as ROBERT believed, though not the work of Giulio but of a North-Italian among his colleagues, possibly Polidoro or Giovanni da Udine.

44. These portraits, indicated rather confusedly by VASARI, can only be identified with the help of engraved ones, which are not now at my disposal; still, a few suggestions may be ventured. *Donation:* The elegant youth with a plumed hat in the right foreground is probably Il Cavalierino, indicated by VASARI in the *Baptism.* The bearded young man with a glove in his hand, kneeling behind the Emperor would be Baldassare Castiglione (MR. HARTT's fig. 17), and the older man kneeling beside him Gioviano Pontano, as is suggested by his baldness; his portrait cannot have been painted from life, as he died in 1503 (see: *In Onore di Gioviano Pontano,* Spoleto, 1926; HILL, *Italian Medals,* nos. 340-342). The same applies to Marullo who died in 1500; having been not only a poet but a soldier as well, he may be the man with a sword kneeling behind Castiglione and carrying a mace for which I have no explanation (BENEDETTO CROCE, *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota,* Bari, 1938, p. 32). The head of his companion now has an ideal character, but may have been originally the *Portrait of Giulio* mentioned by VASARI; the *Knight of St. John* I have tried to identify with the Grandmaster Villiers de l'Isle Adam (see above). *Baptism:* The bearded man with raised arm in the middle background may be Camillo Caetani, lord of Sermoneta (fig. 15), as is suggested by the ornament on his dress, in form of waves (LE ONDE, the family's coat of arms; see: D. GELASIO CAETANI, *Genealogia,* 1920, p. 70 s., no. 59; PASTOR, IX, p. 457 n.). VASARI mentions here the portrait of another knight of St. John, Nicolò Vespucci (1474 — about 1535, knighted in 1505; BARTOLOMMEO DAL POZZO, *Ruolo Generale de' Cavalieri Gerosolimitani,* Torino, 1738, p. 58 s.; HEINRICH BROCKHAUS, *Forschungen ueber Florentiner Kunstwerke,* Leipzig, 1902, p. 134), which I cannot identify, unless it was, as I believe, in the *Donation* and later transformed into a portrait of the much older Villiers de l'Isle Adam (see above p. 87 and Fig. 13). In one of the above-mentioned chiaroscuro paintings of the dado, is contained, according to VASARI, a portrait of Bramante, who, accompanied by Giuliano Leno (called Lemi by VASARI), points out to Pope Clemens VII the ground plan of St. Peter's. The painting exists (Fig. 16) and has been commented upon by MUENTZ ("Gazette des Beaux-Arts," XX, 1879, p. 513) and by GEYMUELLER (*Die urspruenglichen Entwuerfe . . . ,* Vienna, 1875 ss., p. 283, no. 92); but their explanations do not seem convincing to me. The plan is a longitudinal one, and while Bramante may have contemplated such a solution, the portrait, showing a bearded man in a monk's frock, is quite different from the woodcut in VASARI's *Life of Bramante* (ED. 1568, p. 27), but could be the portrait of Fra Giocondo (his portrait is missing in VASARI); in that case the pope would be Leo X, and the execution at least of that particular chiaroscuro would have to be placed before 1521.

45. GOTTI, *l.c.,* (see footnote 38).

46. I am grateful to MR. CHARLES MITCHELL for that suggestion.

While it is possible to detect Raphael's intentions in some single items of the *Sala di Costantino,* its aspect as a whole, when compared with that of the *Stanze* seems entirely un-Raphaelesque. But then, its complicated decorative system must not be imagined as conceived all at once; on the contrary, it was evidently developed in several subsequent stages. The earliest of these was constituted by the series of *Popes* seated in semicircular niches — according to Vasari, Raphael's own conception, which seems convincing, their direct predecessor being the Gregory IX in a fresco of the *Stanza della Segnatura* (1511); only they were given canopies, because all were sanctified as martyrs.

The few plastic items of the decoraration, two small reliefs and two Medici coats of arms, all on the wall toward the Belvedere courtyard (wall IV in my plan), must be considered as remainders of a plan conceived under Leo X but subsequently abandoned. Though embodied in the pictorial surrounding by Giulio's resourcefulness, they are still recognizable as foreign elements (Figs. 4, 5 and 17).[47] In the following stage, still in Raphael's lifetime and under Leo X, the allegorical figures were conceived, and at the same time, or a little later, it was decided to fill with historical paintings the four large spaces which, as I believe, were up to then intended to be left plain and hung with tapestries on festive occasions.

In some of these elements — for instance, the alternation of single seated figures with stories, or the angels which appear behind the *Popes* — may be felt the influence of Michelangelo's Sistine vault; yet we are always in Raphael's own world of forms. But that is no longer the case when it comes to the various tectonic and illusionistic elements of the decoration, pillars, stone seats, and caryatids, which seem to suggest the existence of living forces in the walls, driving forth projections, and holding up the ceiling. All these elements can again be found in the Sistine vault; but they may also come from another source, equally Michelangelesque, namely, the second form of the *Tomb for Julius II,* as conceived in 1513, known to us by a drawing where some ideas of the Sistine vault are developed vertically, hence the more easily adaptable for the purpose of a wall decoration.[48] Such conceptions cannot be attributed to Raphael; but on the strength of what we know about Giulio's later development we may be allowed to ascribe them to him. He stresses a tendency much less discernible in Michelangelo and

47. These two reliefs, neglected by VASARI, and even by PASSAVANT in his otherwise very careful description of the *Sala di Costantino* (II, p. 365 ss.), and scarcely mentioned by MR. HARTT (p. 77), seem to me by no means devoid of interest. I suggest that they were not made for their present places but may have been meant for, or even used before, in another connection, and that there need not necessarily be any relation between them and the *Popes* sitting below. As to the subjects represented, I propose in a provisional way: A) encounter of St. Leo IV with Attila; B) St. Gregory I interceding by his prayer for the soul of Trajan (?); the artist may be Lorenzetto, Giulio's brother-in-law.

48. See: ERWIN PANOFSKY, *The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II,* in: "Art Bulletin," 1937, p. 565 ss.

not at all in Raphael: that of depriving the single figures of their independent existence and of subordinating them to the decorative whole.

Another feature on no account compatible with Raphael's style but perfectly in accordance with Giulio's, is the presentation of the four stories under the form of tapestries, an idea that may have been conceived as a substitute for real tapestries, the manufacture of which had been found too slow and costly.[49] They have large ornamental borders on top but none at the bottom, which may mean that Giulio used some drawings he did not want to cut or alter. The way the tapestries seem to be rolled in on the sides, without disturbing any of the figures, makes it equally clear that the idea was imposed upon the pre-existing stories.

According to Vasari's words, the decorative system of the *Sala di Costantino* was invented on account of its lowness, in order to make it appear higher; and I think that statement to be correct and possibly made by Giulio himself. What I cannot see is how that purpose was served by the figures of popes, as Vasari says; besides, these were planned by Raphael, whom one would not easily credit with such an illusionistic device. There is another feature more likely to have been invented for that purpose: the pillars with the caryatids on top, which lead the vertical movement up to the ceiling and clearly are one of Giulio's contribu-



FIG 14. — *Justitia.* — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican.

49. MR. HARTT has correctly interpreted the different meaning of the idea as developed on the ceiling of the Farnesina (p. 78).

tions.[50] He evidently wanted to connect, by means of the rafters, the two opposite walls, thus effacing to some extent the limit between wall and ceiling.

All the decorative elements here ascribed to Giulio have one peculiarity in common: they seem to advance into the room, and the underlying intention must have been thus to correct its proportions, by making it appear narrower. Once again we have a conception quite incompatible with Raphael's style; where he uses some illusionistic artifice, as in the *stanze,* he merely wants to distinguish "outside" from "inside," as Mantegna had done. It is fascinating to watch how, during the work in the *Sala di Costantino* the gulf widens between Raphael and Giulio, while the latter begins to develop his manneristic tendencies. The process is discernible in many details, and a good example is provided by the shells which decorate the curvature of the niches. In Villa Madama, too, they are placed "downside up," but there they remain within the boundaries of the niches, while in the *Sala di Costantino* they overlap and partly cover the arches. In the niches of wall I a discrepancy is perceptible between the classical form of the canopies and the unclassical one of the shells (Figs. 3 and 12), which I suspect to have been added, or altered by Giulio in order to conform them to the others, after these had been executed in a more advanced style; a style so advanced, in fact, that the execution by Giulio would seem doubtful but for the appearance of the same motive in Palazzo del Te.[51]

The chronological and stylistic order of the *Sala di Costantino* as established here, is disturbed by a few misfits. The restoration of some figures and the much later origin of one portrait head has already been indicated. Furthermore, there is the problem of the canopies under which the *Popes* are sitting. Of these, as has been said, the two on the same wall are treated in three cases exactly alike. The round form (wall I, Nos. 2 and 6) (Figs. 3 and 12) is in perfect accordance with Raphael's style at the indicated time; the rectangular ones, formed like chimney hoods, were required to fit in with the pre-existing reliefs (wall IV, Nos. 2 and 4) (Figs. 4 and 5); the dodecagonal ones (wall III, Nos. 2 and 6) (Fig. 6) are again in accordance with Giulio's style and may be interpreted as another sign of his beginning estrangement from that of Raphael. But the two canopies flanking the *Battle of Constantine* (wall II, Nos. 2 and 6) (Fig. 7) are different among themselves, which already means a deviation from the rule observed on the other walls; moreover they are composed of twelve concavities, a conception far too complicated to be expected in the first quarter of the century.

50. Caryatids somewhat similar in style but executed in stucco relief appear in a room of Palazzo del Te (see: SELWYN BRINTON, *Mantua,* Leipzig, 1907, p. 119).

51. *Sala dei Cavalli* (STEFANO DAVARI, *Palazzo del Te,* p. 19). The same form appears, as late as 1582, in the frescoes of the *Sala Vecchia dei Svizzeri* in the Vatican (adjoining the *Sala dei Palafrenieri,* plan *e*; see: "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1935, p. 713 ss.). The shells in the same form as in Villa Madama appear already in Bramante's *Tempietto* (1502), unless they are another of those later additions not indicated as such by COSTANTINO BARONI (*Bramante,* Roma s.a., pls. 104-108).

These two canopies are the more easily recognizable as interpolations, because placed above groups of the first period, with pairs of angels disposed symmetrically, in the classical style of Raphael. My suggestion is that they were repainted by Tommaso Laureti, and the reason would be that in these two places were the windows made by order of Paul IV, which evidently, on account of the adjoining constructions, were placed high up and had the form of mezzanine windows.

* * *

Returning to the problem of iconography, it must be kept in mind that visitors were meant to enter the apartment by the *Sala di Costantino.* In that room the subjects are of a popular character, easily to be understood by everyone. They reach the highest degree of idealism in the *Stanza della Segnatura,* in the presence of the pope,[52] and drop again into the sphere of history or legend in the *Stanza dell'Incendio,* which could be entered by the pope's *familiares* from an anteroom not now accessible to the public.



FIG. 15. — Camillo Caetani. — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican.

The name of the above-mentioned *Sala di Carlomagno* shows that there existed even in the XVII Century a tendency to continue the scheme started with the *Sala di Costantino* and intended to immortalize the supporters of the papacy. In fact, it was the tale of the territorial gifts following the gift of Constantine which was to be told by a series of frescoes in the *Sala Regia* or *Sala delli Re,* as it was then called, in analogy to the *Sala di Costantino,* known at the time as *Sala dei Papi.* Above the doors there were to be painted six figures of kings, so that there would have been an alternation of single figures and stories, just as in the *Sala di Costantino.* The work was entrusted to Perino del

52. Bartolommeo Nogara, *La Così detta Disputa del Sacramento nelle Stanze di Raffaello in Vaticano,* in: "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1932, p. 957 ss.; Deoclecio Redig de Campos, *Il "Concetto" Platonico-Cristiano nella Stanza della Segnatura,* in: "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1938, p. 101 ss.; Harry B. Gutmann, *The Medieval Content of Raphael's School of Athens,* in: "Journal of the History of Ideas," II, 1941, p. 420 ss.

Vaga in 1542, and after many vicissitudes it had to suffer the interference of that busybody Vasari, who is mainly responsible for the utter distortion of the original program.[53] Paul V (Borghese, 1605-1621) continued the series in the friezes of the archive, not generally accessible;[54] Urban VIII honored the memory of Matilda, the Great Countess, in the frescoes executed by Romanelli in 1635,[55] and that of Charlemagne in those already mentioned, which are badly repainted.

* * *

Giulio's altarpiece in S. Maria dell'Anima, representing the *Holy Family with St. James and St. Marcus,* was painted for the third chapel to the right, the history of which may well reach back into Raphael's lifetime. It was founded by Jakob Fugger (1459-1525), evidently in order to commemorate two members of his family, both named Marcus, who died in 1478 and 1511 and were buried in the church.[56] It seems unlikely that Jakob Fugger, who was not less wealthy than Agostino Chigi *"il Magnifico,"* would have contented himself with anything but Raphael's work while it was available; yet nothing had been achieved when the master died and the job was divided among his pupils, Giulio taking over the altarpiece while, as I believe, Perino del Vaga got the frescoes.

There is no evidence to prove that Giulio completed the altarpiece before leaving Rome in 1524. He may indeed have chosen it as his share because he intended to paint it in Mantua, and actually the very advanced style of the architectural background recalls the Palazzo del Te and even anticipates Vignola's circular courtyard at Caprarola. The figures seem influenced by Parmigianino, which points also to a post-Roman period. The frescoes were begun only in 1549, two years after the death of Perino, by his pupil, Siciolante da Sermoneta,[57] and it seems improbable that walls and ceiling would have been left bare for twenty-five years after the delivery of the altarpiece.

The painting has had a very stormy life. The church has always suffered greatly from the inundations with which the Tiber so often afflicts the town even now. It must already have been damaged in the tremendous flood of 1557. In the still worse flood of December, 1598, the church was badly shaken and the painting reduced to such a state that it had to be restored.[58] The job was given to Carlo Saraceni, probably at the time when he was busy with the execution of two

53. The history of the *Sala Regia* will be told in the notes to my BAGLIONE ED.

54. TAJA, p. 478 ss.; CHATTARD, III, p. 89.

55. *h* in my plan; PASSERI, *l.c.,* p. 308; "Illustrazione Vaticana," 1935, p. 241 ss.

56. VINCENZO FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni nelle Chiese di Roma,* Rome, 1869 ss., vol. III, p. 439, no. 1052; p. 444, no. 1069; JOSEPH SCHMIDLIN, *S. M. dell'Anima,* Freiburg-Vienna, 1906, p. 242 ss.; JOSEPH LOHNINGER, *S. M. dell'Anima,* Rome, 1909, p. 98 ss.; see: A. VENTURI, IX, 2, p. 373; MR. HARTT's fig. 30.

57. BAGLIONE, *l.c.,* p. 23; LOHNINGER AND SCHMIDLIN, *l.c.*; A. VENTURI, IX, 5, fig. 320 ss.

58. *Avviso* of January 30, 1599 ("Roma," 1929, p. 371).



FIG. 16. — *Chiaroscuro* of the *Dado.* — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican (from an engraving by Sante Bartoli).

altarpieces for the same church,[59] and he, in the words of Celio, "not only restored what had been ruined, but ruined as well what had not been touched by the water."[60] Certainly, Celio was not Saraceni's friend. Still, there seems little doubt that those Caravaggesque spots of light are his doing, though I should not go so far as to ascribe to him — as has been done — the whole figure of St. Joseph.[61]

A second restoration was carried out in 1682 by Maratta, and maybe for his convenience the altarpiece was brought into the sacristy, where at the time he was executing some other work.[62] In the beginning of the XVIII Century, having been given an ill-administered coat of varnish, it was brought back into the church and placed not in the Fugger chapel but on the High Altar,[63] probably to keep it away from the water. In 1798 the French carried it off to Paris; it came back in the beginning of the XIX Century and was again restored by Pietro Palmaroli, who painted in a new lion.[64] Finally in 1880, Ludwig Seitz undertook another restoration, while busy with some work in the church.[65] Restorations seem, as a rule, to have been carried out "into the bargain" by painters who were entrusted with some new work; anyway in order to establish what, after so much disaster, remains of the original surface, the painting would have to be taken

59. BAGLIONE, p. 146.

60. CELIO, *l.c.*, p. 48: *Quella di Giulio la guastò il fiume quando inondò, sotto Clemente Ottavo, e doppo non solo racconciorono il guasto, ma guastorono quello, che non haveva tocco il fiume.*

61. AMADORE PORCELLA, *Carlo Saraceni,* Venice, 1929, p. 37 ss.

62. BELLORI, *Life of Maratta,* in: *Ritratti, l.c.*, p. 185, ED. PIACENTINI, p. 105; LOHNINGER, p. 101.

63. FILIPPO TITI, *Descrizione delle Pitture . . . in Roma,* Rome, 1763, p. 411: *Oggi è sull'altar maggiore, con averle dato prima una vernice, che l'ha fatta annegrire, e sempre più deteriorare.*

64. CARLO D'ARCO, *Istoria della Vita e delle Opere di Giulio Pippi Romano,* 2d ED., Mantua, 1842, p. LXXXVIII.

65. SCHMIDLIN, p. 246.

down from its high and dark position to be examined at close quarters and in broad daylight.[66]

* * *

To the problem of Raphael's style, an interesting study was dedicated in 1932 by Theodor Hetzer, who emphasized the part played by the spherical form in the master's conceptions.[67] In two excellent articles by Ernst Gombrich, published in 1934 and 1935, there are discussed some aspects of Giulio's style, among others, his tendency to show a work in a state of imperfection, or rather, struggling for perfection, or contrasting rough and sturdy forms with elegant ones.[68] The oppressive character of some paintings, explained by Gombrich as expressions of the artist's anxiety complex, may well be a reaction to, and a way to get rid of, one particular experience, that is, the anguish caused by the impending prosecution for having published some pornographic engravings. For instance, the principle on which is based the composition of the *Sala dei Giganti* in Mantua, namely, that of causing its elements to advance toward the spectator, can already be observed in the *Sala di Costantino,* where no oppressive character is attached to it. Likewise, Giulio's capacity to revive a situation and to identify himself with his protagonist, is sufficient to explain the terrifying effect achieved in the *Stoning of St. Stephen,* which gives a presentiment of things to come in the second half of the XVI Century.[69]

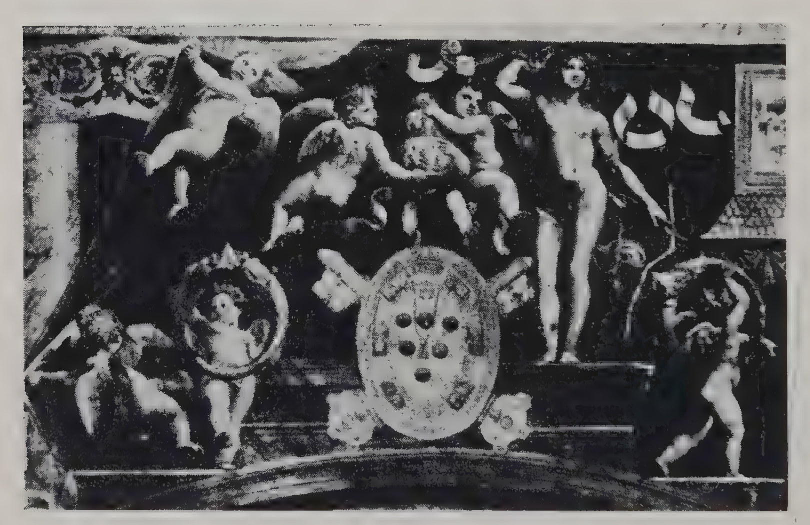


FIG. 17. — Medici Arms. — *Sala di Costantino,* Vatican.

While working in Villa Farnesina, Giulio must have become closely ac-

66. Here I find it particularly difficult to agree with MR. HARTT's statements (*l.c.,* p. 92, n. 92): "Fair condition; covered with candle smoke and here and there badly cracked. Surface otherwise fairly well preserved, with no signs of repainting."

67. *Gedanken um Raphaels Form,* Frankfurt a.M., 1932.

68. *Zum Werke Giulio Romanos,* in: "Jahrbuch der Wiener Kunstsammlungen," VIII, 1934, p. 79 ss.; IX, 1935, p. 121 ss.

69. As to the *Stoning of St. Stephen,* I also find myself in contrast to MR. HARTT, who seems to have equally adopted the "anxiety" conclusion (p. 90). No mention is made — neither by MR. GOMBRICH nor by MR. HARTT — of the tapestry representing the same subject; and still the two versions have enough in common to ask if it was not Giulio who did the cartoon.

quainted with Baldassarre Peruzzi, even taking an active part in the decoration of the *Sala delle Prospettive* — as is made plausible by the style of a painting on the chimney hood, representing the *Forge of Vulcan.* The collaboration evidently left a deep impression on Giulio; in fact, one of his most beautiful ideas, the groups of four columns in the portico of Palazzo del Te, is derived from Peruzzi's frescoes in that very same *Sala delle Prospettive* in Villa Farnesina (Figs. 18 and 19).[70]



FIG. 18. — Peruzzi. — Fresco in *Sala delle Prospettive.* — Villa Farnesina, Rome (Detail).

The influence of Parmigianino, already mentioned, can account for the fact that the so-called *Portrait of Isabella d'Este,* at Hampton Court, has alternately been ascribed to Giulio Romano and to Parmigianino.[71]

Michelangelo, it must be remembered, had not yet revealed himself as an architect when Giulio left Rome, and even as late as 1546, after the death of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, the job of St. Peter's was offered first to Giulio, and only afterward to Michelangelo. As a painter his influence, restricted of course to the Sistine vault, was already felt by Raphael; but Giulio, by his very nature, was far more susceptible to it than his master, and accordingly, the Michelangelesque character, recognizable in some figures of the *Sala di Costantino* which were originally conceived by Raphael, was greatly deepened by Giulio during the process

70. A. VENTURI, XI, 1, p. 285 ss., figs. 248-254; p. 370 ss. and figs. 337-38; FEDERICO HERMANIN, *La Farnesina,* Rome, 1927, p. 83 ss. & tav. LII. While accepting readily the attribution of the overmantel to Giulio, I cannot see his style in the frieze.

71. LIONELLO VENTURI, in: "Arte," 1926, p. 243 ss.; LILI FROEHLICH-BUME, in: "Burlington Magazine," 1925, p. 87 ss. DR. FRITZ GROSSMANN kindly informs me that the attribution to Giulio has already been made by MARIETTE, on the strength of a drawing in the Crozat Collection (*Abecedario,* in: "Archives de l'Art Français," VIII, vol. IV, Paris, 1857/1858, p. 167).



FIG. 19. — Giulio Romano. — Portico. — Palazzo del Te, Mantua, Italy.

of execution. In Mantua he found a way to amalgamate such loans more harmoniously with his own style, combining them occasionally with reminiscences of antique sculpture. There comes a time when the process is reversed, and I think that distinct threads lead from the *Camera dei Giganti* to Michelangelo's *Judgment,* where Giulio's "anxieties" are transferred into a sphere of sublime spiritualization.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Giulio's stylistic formation is the way he has adapted and assimilated Roman Antiquity, and here again Peruzzi may have been his instructor. Giulio seems to have been attracted much more by post-Classical than by Classical sculpture;[72] the former offered models for the concatenation of figures in large compositions, the latter only those for single figures. The above-mentioned figures of *Apollo* and *Diana* are examples of the second class, and they show that the attempt to proceed from sheer imitation to inspired creation was not entirely successful. With Roman sculpture Giulio's

72. H. DOLLMAYR, *Giulio Romano und das klassische Altertum,* in: "Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhoechsten Kaiserhauses," XXII, 1901, p. 178 ss.; ERWIN PANOFSKY AND FRITZ SAXL, *Classical Mythology in Medieval Art* ("Metropolitan Museum Studies," vol. IV, part 2, 1933, p. 271).



FIG. 20. — Giulio Romano. — Portrait of Leo X, black chalk. — Duke of Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, England.
Courtesy of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

reaction is quite different. Vasari tells us that he studied particularly the reliefs of Trajan's column, and there exists a drawing of its whole band in the Museo Estense at Modena, traditionally ascribed to him, which may have something to do with the engravings he is said to have planned.[73] But whenever he incorporated such studies in his own production, a work emerged that has a style of its own, often superior in quality to the model.

Some aspects of Giulio's approach to Roman Antiquity, and generally of his style during the Mantuan period, must be connected with the powerful personality of Mantegna, of whom he had become the successor as the court painter of Marchese Gonzaga. Such a trend is sometimes discernible earlier, in the Vatican, where it may be explained by the collaboration of Polidoro, to whom, by the way, the above-mentioned drawing in Modena has been tentatively ascribed.[74] In fact, the graffito paintings on the outer walls of many Roman houses executed in the style of Roman Antiquity by Polidoro and Maturino — some contemporary with, and some a few years earlier than Giulio's decorative work in Mantua — owe a lot to Mantegna both in technique and manner.[75] Anyway, it is upon Giulio and Polidoro that generations of artists formed their conception of Roman Antiquity; even the austere Bellori, chiefly interested in works of a classical character, had the stucco friezes in Palazzo del Te engraved by Sante Bartoli and accompanied the publication with an introductory note.[76]

By no means inferior was Giulio's influence in the field of architecture, where it was felt by practically everybody in the XVI Century, including Michelangelo, whose famous *Kampfmotiv* seems to pre-exist in Giulio.[77] Even in the

73. VASARI, p. 530. The Modena drawing, kindly pointed out to me in 1937 by PROF. KARL LEHMANN, will be identical with the one described by DOLLMAYR (*l.c.*, p. 190), when it was still in Vienna. The engravings were eventually executed by Muziano (see: BAGLIONE, pp. 51 and 393; *Maso Finiguerra* 1937, *Analecta*, p. 4 ss.).

74. DOLLMAYR, *l.c.*, p. 190.

75. ENRICO MACCARI, *Graffiti e Chiaroscuri Esistenti nell'Esterno delle Case di Roma*, Rome [1876], particularly pl. 37.

76. *Sigismundi Augusti Mantuam Adeuntis Profectio ac Triumphus*, Rome, 1680; See: MEYER, *l.c.*, 1030-1055.

77. Very far-reaching, in my opinion, was his influence on Palladio, whose rustica-technique is evidently derived from Giulio's town-house in Mantua. The so-called Palladio motive is a great favorite with Giulio, though certainly not his invention; its repetition over a long-stretched façade, resulting in such a striking effect on the Basilica in Vicenza, can be observed on the garden-front of Palazzo del Te, where it is combined with the triangular frontispiece, another item very dear to Palladio. One detail of Palazzo del Te has not found up to now the interest it deserves: I mean the semicircular portico opposite the garden-front, made known, for the first time as far as I can see, in 1938 by A. VENTURI (*Storia dell' Arte*, XI, 1, pp. 288 ss. and figs. 255/256), who evidently did not notice the implications of the problem. The question arises: is it really genuine? Being mentioned neither by VASARI nor in STRADANO's description of 1577 (DAVARI, *l.c.*, p. 12), its execution in Giulio's lifetime becomes very doubtful. In a modern guide-book it has been said to be a reconstruction executed by order of Napoleon I, the original having been destroyed during the sack of Mantua in 1629 (DANTE BERZUINI, *Guida Descrittiva del Palazzo Te di Mantova*, Mantua, 1927, p. 36) but that cannot be correct. A semicircular construction, adorned with statues was seen in the beginning of the XVIII Century by RICHARDSON who introduced in his *Account of the Statues* a somewhat distorted ground-plan of it (1722, p. 346), and a more accurate one was published by BOTTANI in 1783, who unfortunately says nothing about it in his text (GIO. BOTTANI, *Descrizione Storica . . .*, Mantua, 1783, pl. I); still it may be assumed that in his second edition, of 1811, BOTTANI would not have failed to indicate it, when speaking of another work done on Napoleon's initiative (p. 26), and

(*Continued on page 104*)

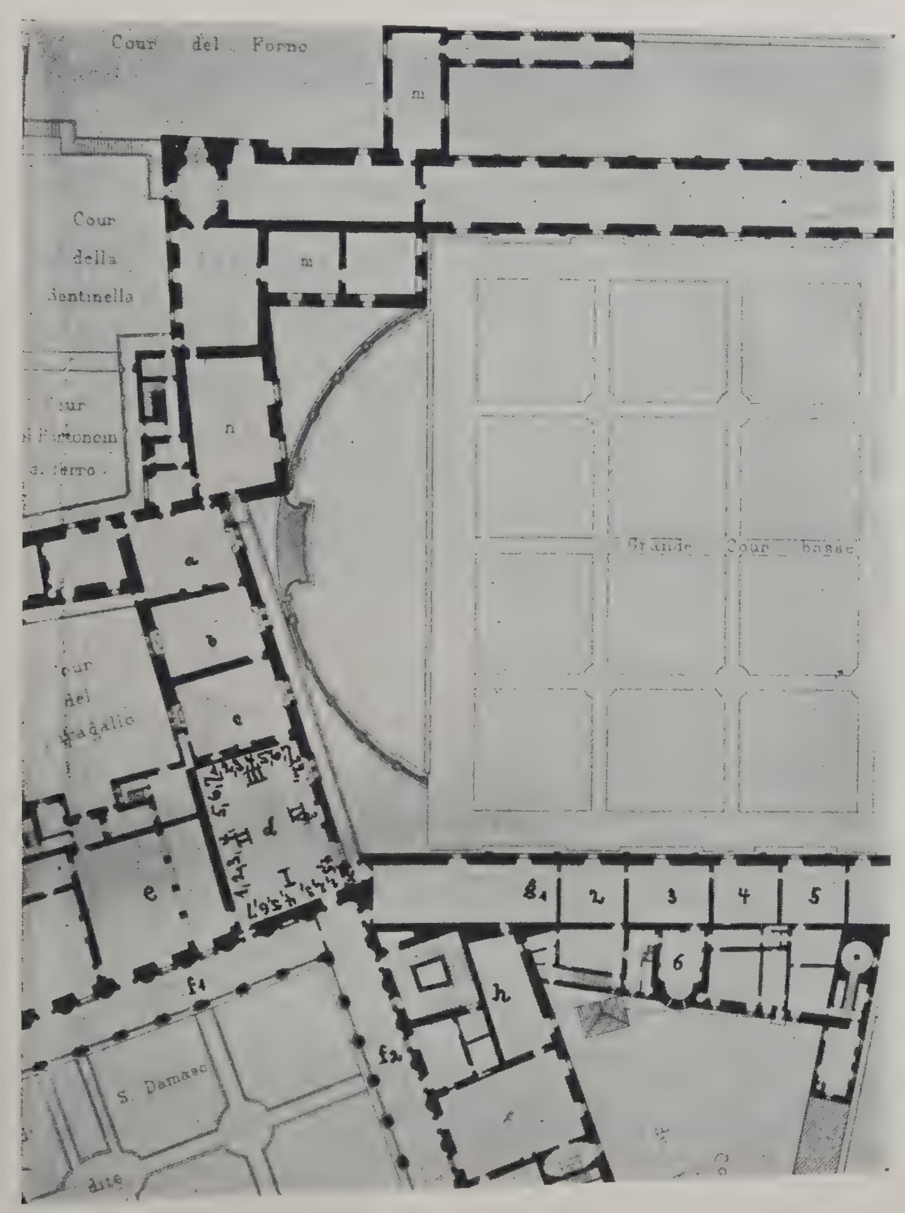


FIG. 21. — Plan of the *Sala di Costantino* and adjoining rooms (increased from LETAROUILLY, *Vatican.*)

a. Stanza dell'Incendio

b. Stanza della Segnatura

c. Stanza di Eliodoro

d. Sala di Costantino

WALL I.

3. *Aeternitas*
2. *S. Petrus*
1. *Ecclesia*

WALL IV.

5. *Fulguratio*
4. *S. Linus* (now: *Gregorius* [?])
3. *Donatio*
2. *S. Silvester I*
1. *Fortitudo*

WALL III.

7. *Veritas*
6. *S. Leo I*
5. *Innocentia*
4. *Baptisma*
3. *Pax*
2. *S. Damasus I*
1. *Prudentia*

WALL II.

7. *Charitas*
6. *S. Urban I*
5. *Justitia*
4. *Proelium*
3. *Religio*
2. *S. Alexander I* (now: *Silvester*)
1. *Fides*

WALL I.

7. *Comitas*
6. *S. Clemens I*
5. *Moderatio*
4. *Allocutio*

e. Sala Vecchia dei Palafrenieri, or *dei Chiaroscuri.*

f. Logge: 1. *di Leone X,* or *di Raffaello*
2. *di Gregorio XIII*

g. Appartamento della Guardia Nobile: 1. *Sala di Carlomagno*
2-5. *Stanze di Giulio III*
6. *Cappella di Paolo IV*

h. Sala della Contessa Matilde.

later XVII Century, when classical tendencies began to prevail, he was looked upon as a Classic, and accordingly both Passeri and Bellori enumerate him among the heroes of the Golden Age, together with Raphael and Michelangelo.[78] I do not know who first denounced him as a Mannerist; to-day everybody agrees to call him that, but the word is beginning to lose its deprecatory meaning, exactly as has happened with the words Gothic and Baroque.[79]

JACOB HESS.



the same applies to SUSANI who, in his guide-book of 1818, actually mentions the portico (GAETANO SUSANI, *Nuovo Prospetto . . . della Citta di Mantova,* Mantua, 1818, p. 89: *Termina il descritto Palazzo con una rotonda, o semicircolare muraglia in fondo al giardino . . .*). The ground-plan (reproduced without comment by CARLO D' ARCO, *l.c.,* pl. II) is strikingly remindful of Bramante's Belvedere courtyard; but what the elevation originally looked like remains a matter of doubt. Certainly in the present state there are similarities with other works by Giulio, but there is no stylistic connection with the loggia opposite, and I wonder if Giulio's own conception may not be recognized in a painting of the *Camera dei Venti* or *dello Zodiaco,* where the idea of the loggia with its groups of four columns is developed on a semicircular ground-plan (VENTURI, XI, 1., p. 294, fig. 260). The painting was executed in 1527 (DAVARI, p. 26ss.), and the traces of a restoration are said to be detectable; but the design will not have been altered, and evidently has awakened interest as late as 1660, when it appears during the preparatory stages of St. Peter's Square in Rome, as is shown by a drawing falsely attributed to Bernini (FILIPPO BALDINUCCI, *Vita del Cav. Bernini,* ED. RIEGL, Vienna, 1912, pl. XXII; RICHARD NORTON, *Bernini and Other Studies . . . ,* New York, 1914, pl. XXXIII).

78. GIO. PIETRO BELLORI, *Vite,* Rome, 1672, p. 12, ED. PIACENTINI, p. 43; GIO. B. PASSERI, *Vite,* ED. HESS, 1934, pp. 12, 325.

79. While writing these lines there comes to my knowledge SIGNOR GIULIANO BRIGANTI's book which has two titles, being called on the binding *Il Manierismo,* and on the title page, *Il Manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi* (Rome, 1945). Both are somewhat misleading, insofar as the author is concerned with painting only; the second recalls to mind: *Parmigianino und der Manierismus* by LILI FROELICH-BUME (Vienna, 1921), a work not quoted by SIGNOR BRIGANTI, which is perhaps as well, or it would have been slaughtered like those of many other writers who have treated the subject of Mannerism in the German language. Giulio Romano is scarcely mentioned, and the *Sala di Costantino* not at all — in my opinion a grave deficiency. With some of the author's findings on Pellegrino Tibaldi I shall deal in the notes of my BAGLIONE ED.

APPENDIX

SALA DEI CHIAROSCURI, OR DEI PALAFRENIERI. ***Apostles painted "in terretta" on the walls by Raphael*** (p. 76 ss.): Another question is, to what extent, if at all, are Marcantonio's engravings involved (B. 64-76)? Muentz believed them to be faithful reproductions of the original frescoes, with the execution of which he suggested to connect a payment made in 1517 (July 1: *ali gioveni di Raphaello da Urbino, che hanno dipinta la stanza avanti la guardaroba*; see: Eugene Muentz, *Raphael,* Paris, 1881, p. 465 s., 466 n.l.; the note is left out in the 2nd ed., Paris, 1900, p. 262). The representation, in the same room, of some rare animals which Leo X possessed has provoked much comment, quite unnecessarily, as in my opinion they were painted among the foliage of the frieze, like *drôleries* on the borders of an illuminated manuscript.

SALA DI COSTANTINO. ***Tommaso Laureti's frescoes on the vault*** (pp. 78 and 83): The completion is recorded by the following inscription: SIXTUS. V. PONT. MAX. AULAM. CONSTANTINIANAM. A. SUMMIS PONTT. LEONE. X. ET. CLEMENTE. VII. PICTURIS. EXORNATAM. ET. POSTEA. COLLABENTEM. A. GREGORIO. XIII. PONT. MAX. INSTAURARI. COEPTAM. PRO. LOCI. DIGNITATE. ABSOLVIT. ANNO PONTIFICATUS. SUI. PRIMO. (*Forcella,* VI, p. 96, no. 310, see also: no. 309). — ***Restorations by Giovanni Guerra*** (p.78 and n. 14): Here are some particulars of his account: *Sala di Costantino. Si sono rifatti tutti li abbassamenti* [means: *basamenti*] *a chiaro et scuro dalle Istorie in giu. Si sono racconciate tutte l'historie di bronzo finito* [means: *finto*] *ch'era* [no] *guaste dœ sgraffij. Si sono raccomodate le figure di chiaro, et scuro, ch'erano tutte guaste. Totale scudi 100* (Bertolotti, *Artisti Modenesi,* p. 50). — ***Portrait of Leo X.*** (p. 83 n. 29, Figs. 12 and 20): I am greatly indebted to Mr. Francis Thompson, M.A., F.S.A., Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's collections at Chatsworth, for having provided the photograph (Fig. 20) and for having agreed to the reproduction of the following indications from the typewritten catalogue of the Chatsworth drawings, p. 187: "Case 59, Sebastiano Luciani (del Piombo), no. 38. Irregular fragment, approximately 335 x 270 mm., pasted on another sheet 480 x 299 mm. Black Chalk. Coll. Padre Resta; D [means Devonshire; see: Lugt, 718]; *S.A.S.* [means S. Arthur Strong, *Reproductions of Drawings in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire,* 1902] 40; Photo B [Braun] 24. Inscribed in Padre Resta's hand: *Ritratto di Lione X.* — P. d'Achiardi, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (1908), p. 325, Berenson, *Flor. Drawings,* II, p. 184 (No. 2477); Rodoconachi, *Pontificat de Léon X,* pl. 5, p. 30. — Formerly attributed to Michelangelo. The present attribution, first made by Wickhoff, is now generally accepted." Wickhoff's rather high-handed attribution to Sebastiano ("Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen," XX, 1899, p. 208) was indicated, not altogether approvingly, by S. A. Strong (*Critical Studies and Fragments,* London, 1905, p. 126 ss.); Berenson had first adopted the attribution to Sebastiano (*Flor. Drawings, l. c.*), but gave the drawing back to Raphael in his second edition, indicating the connection with the fresco, which was pointed out to him by Fischel, but evidently believing it to be too good for Giulio (*The Drawings of the Florentine Painters,* Chicago, 1938, vol. I, p. 245, n. 2; vol. II, p. 319, No. 2477: It has shrivelled in the process). — From the title of his article it would appear that Fischel believed the drawing to be by Raphael, while in the text he seems to ascribe it to Giulio; the ambiguity may have been brought about by the translator. Dr. Ludwig Muenz, who has studied the drawing, kindly tells me that it is not pricked, as it would be if it had served for the execution of the fresco.— ***Repainted figures in Donation*** (p. 74 and n. 2, p. 87 and n. 36; n. 44): That they are to be looked for in this painting is made probable by Dolce's indication, according to which the damage was caused by the soldiers having lighted an exceedingly big fire in the *Sala di Costantino*; actually the fireplace is under the *Donation.* If, as I suspect, the missing portrait of Vespucci was in the *Donation* and was replaced by that of Villiers, the change would not have taken place while Vespucci was

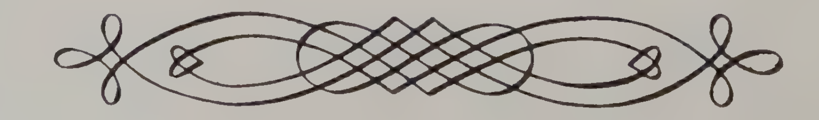
still alive; accordingly, the repainting may have occurred not between 1527 and 1530 as I have stated on p. 87, but between 1535, presumably the year of Vespucci's death, and 1543, the year of Titian's first visit to Rome (A. Venturi, IX/III, p. 145), that is, after the death of Clement VII (1534), which makes it doubtful if the Pope in the *Donation* is really meant to be his portrait.

STANZA DELL' INCENDIO. ***Coronation of Charlemagne*** (p. 78): I insert Celio's statement relating to the figure painted by Lorenzo Sabatini (*l. c.*, p. 118): *In quella* [sc. *Pittura*] *del Concistoro vi e una figura, che porta un peso vicino ad un armato, quale fu rifatta perche era caduta insieme con la calce, da Lorenzino da Bologna.*— ***Battle at Ostia***: The same author says (*l. c.*, p. 117): *Quella delle barche era di Gaudentio Milanese, mà fu racconcia al tempo di Gregorio XV* — that is, between 1621 and 1623, unless he means, as I am inclined to believe, Gregory XIV, whose pontificate lasted only from 1590 to 1591, when restorations were actually carried out, as has been shown.

ALTARPIECE IN S. MARIA DELL' ANIMA. ***Restorations*** (p. 96 ss.): While being kept in the sacristy, the painting was scrutinized by Sebastiano Resta, who inserted in his copy of Vasari the following marginal note: *Circa al quadro dell' anima nel casam^to^ che gira vi sono certe figurette (pero in lontananza) tanto alla moderna dipinte che paiono de Caracci, vero è che fanno poco concerto con l'istoria quanto al decoro, pche sono certe donne che mirano le galline; e non legano con l'istoria sacra e con la Fab:ica di quel gran palazzo che si finge che habitino e q^to^ quadro e stato ristorato, e mutato di luogo p. opera di Carlo Maratti e messo in segrestia quest' anno 1683* (ed. of 1550, p. 885, copy in the Vatican Library, *Cicognara*, IV, 2380). It is not quite clear if Resta believed the small figure of a woman in the background to be an interpolation — which in my opinion it is not —, or if he speaks of an alteration as to style, brought about by the restorer; in the latter case what he believed to be Caracci was either Saraceni, or Maratta trying to be archaic.— ***Abduction to France*** (p. 97): see: *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur vom Jahre 1799*, January, p. 61, extract from a letter written in Rome, November 4, 1798: *Das schoenste Oelgemaehlde von Giulio Romano in der teutschen Kirche S. Maria dell' anima ist unter dem Vorwande dass es eine Flammlaendische Kirche sey, von den Franzosen genommen worden* (kindly brought to my knowledge by Dr. Fritz Grossmann, London).

STONING OF ST. STEPHEN (p. 98 and n. 69): Marginal note by Sebastiano Resta, contained in the above-mentioned copy of Vasari: *Il disegno grande originale stà nella libraria della Cha. Nova di Roma, lasciatoli in legato dal Nicolini musico Basso circa l'anno 1670 piu o meno ch'egli mori. et io lo feci collocar in libraria S.R.* (p. 885, *l. c.*). More marginal notes by Resta referring to the same work are contained in another copy of Vasari, again of the first edition, once in the Collection of the late Count Stroganoff: *Il cartone stà in Biblioteca Vallicellana donato in due pezzi dal qm. Musico Basso di Ch. Na. Niccolini* (copy now in the Vatican Library as well, "Arte," III, Vas. 6, p. 885); in the same copy, *Index*, under *Genova, S. Stefano, Giulio Romano: in biblioteca della Cha. Nova di Roma il Cartone.* Some of the marginal notes contained in the Cicognara copy were published by G. Mongeri, in: "Archivio Storico Lombardo," Ser. I, vol. II, 1875, pp. 407 ss., vol. III, 1876, pp. 101 ss., 258 ss.; it would certainly be worth while to publish all the notes contained in both copies, correcting the mistakes of Mongeri, who had not seen the original notes but only a transcription of the early XIX Century.

J. H.



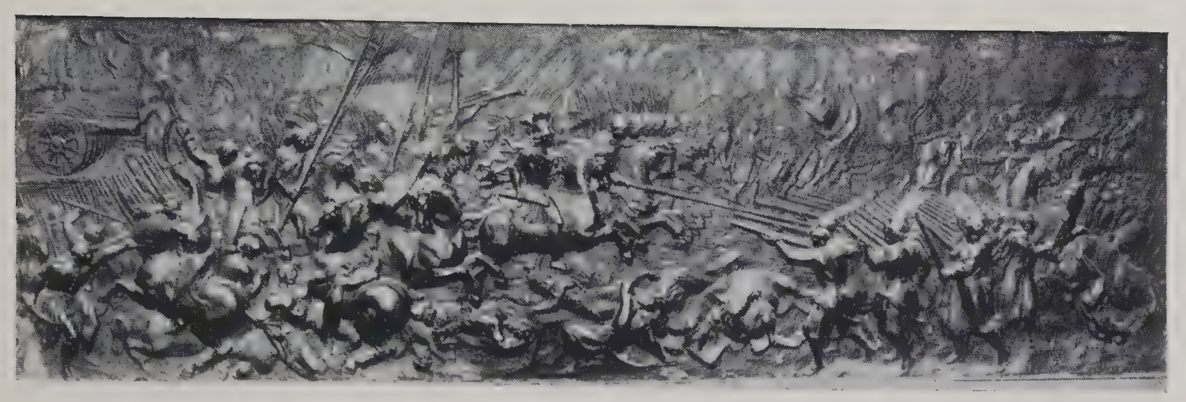


FIG. 1. — Tomb of Casimir, King of Poland. — St. Germain des Prés Church, Paris (Detail with a relief representing Casimir's victory in Lithuania in 1661).

THE MAUSOLEUM OF CASIMIR
KING OF POLAND

IN the Church of St. Germain des Prés, in the Chapel of St. Casimir (now Chapel of St. François Xavier) there is in the left transept, the tomb of Casimir, King of Poland, who died as Abbot of St. Germain des Prés (Fig. 2).

It is a strange story, that of this prince, second son of King Sigismund III and of Constance of Austria who, after having traveled much, and been through all the courts of Europe, became a Jesuit and spent two years with the Compagnie de Jesus, from where Pope Innocent X took him, and made him a Cardinal. At the death of his brother Ladislas Sigismund in May 1648, the Poles forced him to accept the crown so as not to break the dynasty. In 1649, with a dispensation from the Pope, he married the widow of his brother, the King: Louise Marie de Gonzague, born at Nevers — a woman of strong character.

Casimir took part in many a battle, "accomplished many heroic deeds in war, and until the end of his life kept a horse, on whose back he found himself in seventeen battles, of which he won sixteen."[1] Having lost his wife on May 10, 1667, he returned to his original and foremost line of interest. Wishing — according to the beautiful expression of the XVII Century — to "put an interval between life and death," he decided to devote himself exclusively to his salvation and voluntarily abdicated the throne. The speech he made before the Diet of 1668, which he had

1. PIGANIOL DE LA FORCE, *Description de Paris,* vol. VIII, p. 41.

called together in order to announce his decision, is indeed of virile beauty and deserves being quoted. Moreover, in that speech he shows himself as having rare perspicacity, since he foretells the partition of Poland:

"Poles,

"I have resolved to place an interval between the turbulence of the throne and the peace of eternity; the time is not far off when I will no longer be able to sustain the weight of the crown; I prefer to anticipate it to being overtaken by it. For 280 years my house has governed you; its reign has passed; mine is expiring: Worn out by war, by service and by age, overcome by the work and worries of twenty-one years of reign, I, your friend and your father, am placing into your hands that which the world esteems most, the crown, and I am choosing as my throne six feet of earth which will unite me with my fathers; in showing my tomb to your children, tell them that I was the first in battle and the last in retreat; that I renounced the grandeur of kings for the sake of the good of the fatherland; that I returned the scepter to those who had given it to me; it was your love for me which placed me in the first rank, and it is my love for you which makes me descend from it . . . Several calamities threaten you, Poles, I foresee them, I announce them; may God ordain that I should prove a false prophet! The Moscovite and the Kosack will join with the people who speak their language and will appropriate the Duchy of Lithuania. The borders of great Poland will be opened to Brandenburg; and Prussia itself will invoke treaties and assert the right of arms to carry through her conquests. During this dismemberment the house of Austria will not lose the opportunity of seizing Cracow; each of our neighbors will rather seize a part of Poland by arms than wait to perhaps some day possess a realm in which the will of the people would choose the rulers. . . . Adieu, Poles, Adieu . . . I carry you in my heart; the distance of earth may separate me from the Republic but my heart will always be with this tender mother and I command that my ashes be placed in her bosom."

Casimir came to France; Louis XIV, wishing to show his sympathy for the Polish monarch, gave him the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, where he came for the first time on November 24, 1669, amidst great ceremonies, as related by Dom Bouillart.[2] Three years later, after having been at the Springs of Bourbon-Lancy in order to improve his impaired health, he fell sick at Nevers and there died on November 16, 1672. His body, deposited in the house of the Jesuit Fathers was eventually transported to Poland by a Polish gentleman of the name of Opaski and was inhumed at Cracow in accordance with his wish. His heart was brought to St. Germain des Prés where, in the Chapel of St. Casimir, there was erected the mausoleum which is the object of the present study. As is known, such double burial

2. *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Germain des Prés*, 1724, p. 263.



FIG. 1. — Tomb of Casimir, King of Poland. — St. Germain des Prés Church, Paris (present state).

was of quite common usage for high personages. This tomb was made "on behalf of the officers of this prince," who aimed at thus making known "their gratitude toward such a good master," as was also the picture above the altar representing *St. Casimir* by Schultes.[3]

On a black marble funerary bed framed by marble draperies held by cords with golden tassels, Casimir is represented in white marble with one knee on the ground, in a half-ecclesiastical, half-royal costume, bowing as he offers to God his scepter and his crown[4] which he holds in his left hand. With his right hand he holds the folds of his cloak. The hands are strong without prominent veins; they are not the hands of an old man. The drapery is supple and natural.

The figure is an excellent portrait:[5] The face full of energy, with high cheekbones, the lower jaw jutting out, double-chin, goggle eyes lifted, everything has been well studied.

In the foreground there is a trophy composed of a baldric, a crown, a scepter, a helmet, a sheaf of lances and a standard; in back is another trophy with a scimitar, a quiver (the type of arms recalls the victories won over the Orientals), a helmet with feathers, and a carved shield on which are represented horsemen firing.

In the corners were the captives in chains (which we will study later) symbolizing the victories the King won over the Turks, the Tartars and the Moscovites. It is precisely a victory over the Moscovites, won by Casimir in Lithuania in 1661, that is represented on the beautiful bronze relief to be found on the base of the mausoleum (Fig. 1). The King is there represented on horseback at the head of his army charging a battalion of Fusiliers. Behind the King the horsemen attack a battery; in the foreground there are fallen horsemen. This relief was cast in iron by Jean Thibaut, a lay brother of the congregation of St. Maur, very skilled in that art. The epitaph, which was considered a masterpiece, was composed by Dom Delfau, a religious member of the abbey. Broken in 1793 by the revolutionaries who sacked this church, there is on the monument today only the beginning and the end of the original epitaph engraved in golden letters on the black marble plinth.

Executed after 1672, the tomb of Casimir was greatly injured at the time when the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés was transformed into a factory of saltpeter, in the year II.[6] It was part of the Musée des Monuments Français[7] under Number 194, approximately in the same state as it is today, that is to say, having al-

3. Today there is a statue of St. François Xavier above that altar.

4. The crown, globus and scepter of John Casimir, King of Poland, were preserved at the treasure of St. Germain des Prés (Dom Bouillart).

5. It may be related to an engraved portrait of Casimir in the Clairambault Collection (1208, vol. 98, fo. 17 of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale).

6. *"Le 2 Floréal an II, l'administration des poudres et salpêtres, établie à St. Germain des Prés, fait démonter tous les marbres de l'Eglise St. Germain des Prés," Journal de Lenoir,* art. 325.

7. Lenoir, *Musée des Monuments Français,* 1806, vol. V, p. 94.



FIG. 3. — Tomb of Casimir, King of Poland (original state), engraving. — From: DOM BOUILLART, *History of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés*, pl. 12, p. 266.

ready lost its accessories with the exception of the bronze relief, the receipt of which Lenoir acknowledges in his diary under Number 405: "The fifth Thermidor of the Year II, received from the Citizen Harnachard, agent of the Commune of St. Germain des Prés, a relief in lead representing a battle and coming from the tomb of Casimir, King of Poland."

In 1817, "the Curé and administrator of the Church of St. Germain des Prés of Paris" asked through a request addressed to the Prefect of the Seine, that their church might recover "the tombs of the Kings, founders of the Abbey, of Casimir King of Poland, of Count de Douglas, of Count de Furstenberg, of Messrs. de Castellan," etc. This request was granted, and the tomb of the King of Poland who died as Abbot of St. Germain des Prés, and whose memory would naturally be associated with the Abbey, was reestablished there in 1824, but with only a part of the original decoration, as is proved by the engraving by Dom Bouillart which shows its original state very exactly (Fig. 3). There are no longer at the top those small angels in the clouds, which gave to the tomb a foretaste of the XVIII Century. They were replaced by the arms which were previously to be found under the sarcophagus. The latter has also disappeared.

As to the two slaves on either side of the sarcophagus, as is testified to both by the print by Dom Bouillart[8] and by the description by Piganiol — "at the corners are captives chained to trophies of arms with which they group to depict the victories won by that prince over the Turks, the Tartars and the Moscovites"[9] — they were destroyed during the Revolution. They were not of marble as is wrongly stated in the Dictionary by Lami and Lemonnier,[10] but of stone. It is also wrong when the *Inventaire des Richesses d'Art de la France* says that: "These two captives are at the Louvre, according to the Catalogue of Barbet de Jouy." Courajod[11] has established very clearly that they are entirely different from the marble soldiers of the Louvre which come from a composition of the *Resurrection* in the Chapel of the Valois family at St. Denis. Besides, some of their remains were found during the work of breaking through the Boulevard St. Germain, among others the lower part of the body of the slave which was originally at the right of the tomb; this fragment was reproduced by Courajod. It was engraved in the "Mémoires des Antiquaires de France." "It is now preserved at the Hôtel Carnavalet in the Municipal Museum," says Courajod.[12] They have indeed entered the latter collection since these two fragments are listed in the inventory of the collection (one of them having even been photographed) and are indicated as having been placed in the "garden of the northern arcade;" but because of the works undertaken there during the

8. *Op. cit.*, pl. XII.
9. *Op. cit.*, vol. VIII, pp. 41 and 42.
10. Lemonnier, *L'Art Français au Temps de Louis XIV*, p. 295.
11. Courajod, *Le Journal de Lenoir*, vol. III, p. 116.
12. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. XXIX.

war of 1914-1918, they have been displaced and transported into the Archeological Depositories of the City of Paris, where it has proved impossible for me to see them.

The tomb of Casimir is the work of Gaspard de Marsy, who was probably assisted in the beginning by his brother Balthazar. Indeed, we are told by Mariette[13] that: "The two brothers, both extremely skilful, were very close. They worked together on the same creations. Nothing is comparable to the beautiful group of *Horses of the Sun* which they executed for the grotto of Versailles." The monument having been started after 1672 and Balthazar not having died until 1674, it is quite possible that he may have worked on it, as has been suggested by Guillet de St. Georges[14] who assures us that: "The works of the elder, after the death of Balthazar, had less taste and much less finish than those on which they worked in common."

Gaspard de Marsy (or rather "Gaspard Marsy" as he signed the contract for the tomb of Turenne, which I found in some notary archives) was born at Cambrai in 1624, while his brother Balthazar was born in 1628. Their father had also been a sculptor. They came in 1648 to Paris where they studied under Van Obstal, Anguier and Sarrazin. Gaspard entered the Academy in 1657, his *Morceau de Réception* — an *Ecce Homo* — being preserved in the Louvre. Made a professor at the Academy in 1659, he had to be replaced because of his lack of diligence; he was reinstated in this position in 1669 and elected as an adjunct to the rector in 1675. He had married Marie Gabrielle Denison in 1664. Of their three children only one daughter survived her parents. He was the brother-in-law of Legros. According to Jal, he died in 1681. His portrait by Jacques Carrey is at Versailles. His brother, Balthazar, a professor at the Royal Academy, died, as we already know, as early as 1674. The two brothers almost always worked together. Their principal works, besides the famous *Tritones Watering Horses* of the Bains d'Apollon of Versailles, are the *Bassin de Bacchus,* also at Versailles, and a marble group representing the *Rape of Orythie by Boree* in the Tuileries Gardens.

The works made by Gaspard after the death of his brother are: the statue of the *Point du Jour* at Versailles, the two figures of *Wisdom* and *Value* at the tomb of Turenne, now at the Invalides, and a relief of the Porte St. Martin representing *Mars Carrying the Shield of France and Pursuing an Eagle* to "signify the victories of the King in Germany."

The tomb of Casimir has a certain originality. It is neither a *gisant* (recumbant effigy), nor an *oranta* (a figure in prayer); it shows instead a pose which escapes banality and which recalls the most remarkable act of that strange existence being so rich and so full of contrasts: The man who was a Jesuit, a Car-

13. *Abecedario,* pp. 262-263.

14. Guillet de St. Georges, *Mémoires,* I, pp. 307-311.

dinal, a King, a warrior, is bending his knee to the ground as he offers his crown to God — a gesture symbolic of his abdication. It is a beautiful idea, a dramatic idea, added to the tomb of a praying person.

It has seemed to us worthwhile to describe the monument of that King of Poland who died as an Abbot of St. Germain des Prés and who, having left his heart there, illustrates so well the ties which unite Poland to France.

M.-E. SAINTE-BEUVE.





FIG. 1. — Gandhara Reliefs. — Marine Gods. — British Museum, London.

A PAIR OF JAPANESE TEMPLE GUARDIANS

THE two sculptures in wood to be discussed in this article were purchased in Japan some fifteen years ago on the advice of the late Joseph Hackin, Curator of the Musée Guimet in Paris. It might, therefore, be appropriate to say, first of all, a few words in memory of this great French scholar.

About thirty-five years ago the author met Hackin at the home of the late Raphaël Petrucci in Brussels. Petrucci was an authority on Chinese paintings and many scholars came to see him, among them d'Ardennes de Tizac, Binyon, Chavannes, Goloubev and Pelliot, all of whom have now, unfortunately, passed away. Hackin was already a very promising scholar and the tributes paid to his memory on the occasion of his tragic death (both he and his wife lost their lives whilst traveling for the French Provisional Government in London, when their



FIG. 2. — Bäzäklik Cave Temple (No. 9) Frescoes. — Formerly Völkerkundemuseum, Berlin (Detail).

ship was torpedoed) by the leading men in his field of activities, demonstrated clearly that these early promises were fulfilled. Others have described the invaluable contributions of Hackin in archeology, particularly his so well known excavations in Afghanistan, his work at the Musée Guimet, and his qualities as a leader of men, when he took part in the Citroën mission which for the first time followed with motorized equipment the old caravan trail from Persia to China. Here it will only be stated that Hackin was considered by his friends a great man whom they trusted and loved, and a humanitarian in the highest sense of the word.

In Japan, the two figures under discussion are called Nio; they belong to the Buddhistic pantheon where they are known as Vajrapani. To trace the history of this deity, it is necessary to go back to Hindu mythology. According to Grünwedel,[1]

1. ALBERT GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist Art in India,* translated by JAS. BURGESS, p. 7.

one divinity is prominently mentioned in the Veda: Sakra, god of thunder (as such he was considered as one of the gods to fight the demons). Similarly, in the oldest Buddhist sutras, Sakra is almost the only god of a clearly pronounced type. It must not be forgotten that in Vedic times representation of a divinity was not necessary; the knowledge that the gods would do what was required of them was sufficient. Vajrapani, another Hindu deity, was very closely connected with Sakra, and in the opinion of Grünwedel,[2] when later on Mahayana Buddhism adopted Hindu gods, a separation took place, Vajrapani losing his Hindu character as a nature god and becoming the guardian of Buddha.

In the early days of Buddhism there was no visual representation of Buddha. However, when Buddhism came into contact with Greek art which had reached northern India after the conquest of that province by Alexander the Great, the two became closely interwoven and produced around the III to II Century B.C.



FIG. 3. — Bäzäklik Cave Temple (No. 9) Frescoes. — Formerly Völkerkundemuseum, Berlin (Detail).

2. *Ibid*, p. 94.



FIG. 4. — Temple Guardians from the Tien Lung Shan Cave Temples in Shansi Province.

what is called the art of Gandhara (geographically, now Afghanistan and a part of northern India).

Two types of Greco-Indian Vajrapanis appearing on Gandhara reliefs are here reproduced (Fig. 10);[3] both personages carry a thunderbolt (Vajra), the attribute which distinguishes Vajrapani from the other deities of the Buddhistic pantheon.

In eastern Turkestan at the Bäzäklik cave temples on the northern caravan route leading from India through Central Asia to China, a very changed and developed type of Vajrapani appears on a fresco from the western wall of cave temple No. 9. A beautiful reproduction in color of this fresco is found in von Le Coq's book, *Chotcho*.[4] Reproduced here are details of this painting (Figs. 2 and 3), namely, two very interesting figures, one at the far end on the left side, and the other at the far end on the right side of the fresco. Both personages are separated from the central part of the fresco by walls of flame in bright colors following an undulating line. The figure on the left is painted in brown against a green background and is threatening a small demon with the head of a wild boar. Of the six arms, one is pointed toward the demon, whilst the others carry a sword, lasso, cakra (symbolic wheel), battle axe and large knife. The figure on the right is painted in dark blue and is standing above a small demon with the head of an elephant. Three arms bear a cord, cakra and Vajra; one arm is pointing toward the demon and two are folded against the breast. The brown colored figure has an open mouth and the eyes are circled in green, whereas the other one has a bitter, closed mouth, the eyebrows are painted in red and the eyes are circled with the same color. Both figures stand about five feet high. Hackin[5] describes these personages at some length and identifies them as Vajrapani, in view of the fact that the painter, through a judicious use of light and dark colors which is contrary to the usual form of Chinese painting, and also

3. ALBERT GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 22.

4. A. VON LE COQ, *Expedition nach Turfan*, Berlin, 1913, pl. 32.

5. HACKIN, *Guide-Catalogue du Musée Guimet* (*Les Collections Bouddhiques*), pp. 30-32.



FIG. 5. — Kamakura Period. — Japanese Temple Guardian. — The Author's Collection.

by using the modeling line, has brought out the volume of the figures in such a way that they stand out and seem to appear in front of the principal deity, Avalokitesvara (now faded away). Hackin adds: "It is well-known that in sculptural art Vajrapani is placed in front of the Buddha or the Boddhisattvas whose guardian he is." Both figures are ferocious and full of action, and Hackin admits the great difference from the placid type of Vajrapani found in Greco-Indian art as shown here (Fig. 10).

Wachsberger[6] describes these two figures at still greater length than Hackin. He identifies them as Dharmapalas or guardians of religion, Hindu gods taken over into the Mahayana system of Buddhism. In his opinion the solution of the iconographic problem of the representation in painting or sculpture of Buddhist deities has not yet been found. Buddhist Greco-Indian art came into contact with Chinese art in eastern Turkestan, and Wachs-

6. A. WACHSBERGER, in: "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Stilkritische Studien," III, pp. 277-325, 424-450; IV, pp. 12-57; p. 298.



FIG. 6. — Kamakura Period. — Japanese Temple Guardian. — The Author's Collection.

berger[7] explains in great detail the difference between making use of light and shadow according to the Greek manner, and using the modeling line proper to Chinese art; both are combined in the Bäzäklik cave temple paintings. It is not as yet known when this fresco in cave temple No. 9 was painted; possibly any time between the VII and X Centuries. It might be well to point out here that the Bäzäklik Vajrapani is a fairly well advanced type from an artistic point of view and that less complicated figures must have been known before the VII Century not only in eastern Turkestan but also in China. It is known that relations between China and eastern Turkestan existed at the beginning of the Christian era.

In China proper temple guardians were carved out of stone and reproduced here are two such figures from the Tien Lung Shan cave temples in Shansi province (Fig. 4).[8] These

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

8. OSVALD SIREN, *Chinese Sculpture*, vol. IV, pl. 487.

figures date from the Tang dynasty (619-906) and the link between them and those appearing on the Bäzäklik fresco is quite clear. Some very well known Tang temple guardians are at the Lung Men grottoes in Honan province (Fig. 9)[9] and others of stone are found in Korea at the Sok-kul-am cave monastery.[10]

On the occasion of the recent Bicentennial Conference on Far Eastern Culture and Society, at Princeton University, Mr. Liang Ssu-ch'eng spoke on post-T'ang Buddhist cave scultpure in Southwest China, and it appears from discoveries made by him in 1939-1940 in Szechuan, that there also can be found temple guardians with strongly developed abdominal muscles such as those shown here (Fig. 4).

In Japan, sculptures are carved from wood, and temple guardians are protected from the weather by being placed under a covered porch. A gateway leads to the temple through this



FIG. 7. — Kamakura Period. — Japanese Temple Guardian. — The Author's Collection (Back View of Fig. 6).

9. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pl. 459.

10. B. GOTTSCHE, *Sok-kul-am,* in: "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift," VII, p. 161, pls. 11 A and B.



FIG. 8. — Kamakura Period. — Japanese Temple Guardian. — The Author's Collection (Detail of Fig. 6).

porch and the Nio are placed on each side of it. The oldest statues of Nio are found at the Horyu-ji temple which was constructed during the VII Century Suiko period (580-650).[11] Here the left figure is made of clay over a wooden frame, whereas the right one, although its head is of the same material as that of its companion, is made of wood in the Kamakura technique. Another pair of famous Nio are found at the Nandaimon, Todai-ji Nara.[12] They are from the Kamakura period (1170-1350) and are attributed to two great Japanese sculptors Unkei and Kakei. The Nio with the open mouth is holding Vajrapani's thunderbolt. These gigantic statues are each twenty-six feet high.

The two Japanese temple guardians in the author's collection (Figs. 5, 6, 7 and 8) were purchased by him from a well known dealer in Nara, who had previously acquired them from an abandoned temple. They belong to the Kamakura period and stand about eight feet high; both figures were formerly colored and traces of red paint are still visible. The two face-masks, the two arms of the figure with the closed mouth, and the right arm of the one with the open mouth are of a later period, thus the bent left arm of this latter figure is the only one of the same period as the torso. Cracks have been repaired at various times with white plaster and paste. These sculptures constitute an excellent example of the skill of Japanese artists when handling a material such as wood for which they have a true feeling, developed by centuries of use. Both figures display magnificent strength, boldness in the sweeping movements of the drapery and great beauty in the treatment of the torso. Two reproductions (Figs. 7 and 8) show how the artist made use of the run of the grain and his knowledge of the position of knots. One of them (Fig. 7) gives a view of the muscles of the back of the figure with the open mouth, and the other (Fig. 8) reproduces in detail a front view of the torso show-

11. *Catalogue of Art Treasures from Ten Great Temples of Nara,* vol. IV, *The Horyu-ji Temple,* part 4, pls. 48-53.

12. H. MINAMOTO, *An Illustrated History of Japanese Art,* translated by HAROLD G. HENDERSON, pl. 85.



FIG. 9. — Temple Guardian from the Lung Men Cave Temples in Honan Province (672-675).

ing the very strongly developed abdominal muscles. Von le Coq[13] compares these over-developed abdominal muscles of the Japanese Nio to a similar form of stereotyped muscle treatment found on a Gandhara relief now in the British Museum (Fig. 1). The figures of this relief are identified by Foucher[14] as marine gods. They can be recognized as such by their drapery of fins elegantly cut out in the form of vine leaves. All the marine gods carry a paddle and for further precision, one is holding a dolphin. It is quite interesting to see here how a detail in the sculpture of abdominal muscles in Japanese Nio, as well as in the treatment of the muscles of the Chinese figures studied above (Fig. 4), goes all the way back to Gandhara.[15].

HUGUES LE GALLAIS.



FIG. 10. — Gandhara. — Types of Vajrapani.

13. A. von Le Coq, *Bilder-Atlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, p. 78, figs. 141 and 142.

14. A. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, vol. I, p. 244, fig. 126.

15. It has been arranged that the above described pair of Japanese temple guardians (Figs. 5 to 8) might be seen by those interested, if they will apply at the Luxembourg Legation, Washington, D. C.

A POSTSCRIPT:
HEAD OF A LITTLE GIRL WEARING A CAP
BY VAN DYCK

In looking over a collection of photographs of drawings owned by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts,[1] one of the two heads of young children ascribed to Van Dyck (Fig. 2) recalled to me a similar head seen in the photograph of a painting. When this photograph (Fig. 1) was found and placed with that of the drawing in Philadelphia, it was evident that the drawing must have been a study for this very head, and that it furnished a most interesting confirmation of the tentative attribution to Van Dyck of the painted head.



FIG. 1. — VAN DYCK. — Head of a Little Girl, fragment. — Formerly Oliver Phelps Collection, Detroit, Michigan.

The portrait of this little girl now exists, unfortunately, only as a fragment of what must have been a large and important group. The photograph was sent to the Frick Art Reference Library by the owner of the painting, Mr. Oliver Phelps of Detroit, in 1934, who wrote in his accompanying letter:

"A fragment, which has always been considered in the family collection as by Van Dyck. The Detroit Institute of Arts has also attributed this portrait to Van Dyck."

From a study of the photograph alone, it appeared that this attribution was very plausible, and on the Library mount of the photograph I commented in 1934:

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1. Published in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," Sept. 1946, fig. 7, p. 161, by DR. OTTO BENESCH on whose suggestion the present note has been written.

"The manner of painting the eyes, hair, pearls of the necklace, as well as the general pose and feeling of the head, justify the attribution, which could never, of course, be actually proved unless the picture from which the head was cut could be found. It seems likely that the rest of the picture was destroyed—by fire or accident—and that this fragment of the child's head was cut out and saved as being the only part left that could be taken as a self-sufficient unit. It is evident from the photograph that the canvas is much damaged in places. The hand shown at the bottom is probably that of a woman who was holding the little girl on her lap, and from the proportions of hand and face one would judge that the subject is a very young child, probably under two years of age."

It is a pity that, since the above was written, the whereabouts of the fragment has also become a mystery. Mr. Oliver Phelps died some years ago, and according to information from Mr. Richardson of the Detroit Institute of Arts, in 1943, the contents of the family house were sold by his son, and the present ownership of this portrait as well as of other paintings formerly in the Phelps Collection cannot be ascertained. This publication of a photostat made from the photograph sent by Mr. Phelps may perhaps come to the attention of the present owner of this attractive head, who would surely be interested in knowing of the existence of a careful study.



FIG. 2. — ANTHONY VAN DYCK. — Head of a Girl. — Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. *Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.*

The independent attributions to Van Dyck of both drawing and painting fragment are mutually strengthened, if not completely corroborated, by the chance bringing together of two surviving minor portions of what must have been a quite large and imposing work. The group must have been, at the very least, a three-quarter length life-size *Mother and Child*, in the manner of the *Portrait of Maria Clarissa,* wife of Jan van den Wouwer, with her daughter (Dresden Gallery). It may possibly have been an even larger family group, similar in arrangement to others by Van Dyck. From the style of the little girl's cap, and her costume with its informal low neck, as well as the rather loose brush work, one would judge that the picture was a rather late work, probably from Van Dyck's English period. The little niece of Margaret, Countess of Carlisle, who stands beside her in the portrait owned by the Duke of Devonshire, wears a somewhat similar cap with ribbons, on the back of her head, and also wears a low-cut gown and pearl necklace.

DAPHNE M. HOFFMAN.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. D. BEAZLEY, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens.* London, Geoffrey Cumberlege ("Proceedings of the British Academy," vol. XXX). Price, 7s, 6d.

This brief work is a lecture, delivered in September 1942, and published, with notes brought up to date, in 1946. It is a collection of all the material, meager and scattered, bearing upon the pottery industry of Athens in her great days.

The first source of information consists of vases and clay plaques on which vase-painters depicted the scenes in which they themselves participated. Many interesting pieces, some of them quite fragmentary, showing the potter's wheel, the kiln, and workers at their various tasks, painted both in black-figure and in red-figure, are here assembled for the first time. An amusing though fanciful comparison is made between a bald and bearded master potter represented on a vase and a bronze statuette which could be his second portrait.

Next, a few inscriptions on marbles are called to witness the prosperity of certain potters. Among them is a marble relief with a potter's portrait and, unfortunately, only the concluding letters of his name.

The third, and one of the most fruitful sources of information, is the inscriptional record of potters on the vases. The author adopts the view that the signatures with *epoiesen* refer in general to actual potters who shaped the vases, not to factory owners.

Finally, the author, combining his observations with those embodied in a recent publication by BLOESCH, discusses the potters, especially the potters of kylikes, who, even when they did not sign, can be identified by the precise forms of their creations. The way is thus opened for further investigation of potters and their functions and habits, matters that have been overshadowed during the age of intensive study of paintings and painters.

This lecture is refreshing in its originality and is of permanent value as a ground plan of the pottery industry. The eight collotype plates give only a small proportion of the pieces discussed, and necessarily the least well known material.

DOROTHY KENT HILL.

PIERRE BAUTIER, *La Peinture Belge au XVIII Siècle,* Bruxelles, Editions du Cercle d'Art, 1945, 30 pp., XXXII pls.

This is another volume in the series "*L'Art en Belgique*" brought out under the occupation. As is true of most of the books published in occupied France and Belgium which have come to the United States, this volume is of a highly intellectual caliber, enriched with an impressive number of thoughts and ideas. It would seem as though anguish, and the desire to escape from reality had especially stimulated the author's spirit, during those dark years. The typographical presentation and the printing are excellent. These two charactertistics alone are encouraging signs of what we may expect of future literature from the same countries.

The task of the author of *Belgian Painting in the XVIII Century* was far from an easy one. He had to give a general picture of a field of art crowded with details; to bring out with some order, through a wise selection of the most important features, the main trends

of the art under discussion; and, if possible, to try to do full justice to a period of art generally considered rather dry, and for that reason deliberately neglected and ignored. MR. PIERRE BAUTIER was particularly well qualified for the accomplishment of this task through his extensive travel and research and through his long-standing devotion to the study of the subject. Incidentally, it was he who had already been chosen to treat the same period of art in the volume on *Art in Belgium* published on the eve of the war, under the direction of PAUL FIERENS (Brussels, Renaissance du Livre, 1939).

The Belgian school of painting of the XVIII Century seems during the last years to have been attracting increasing attention. While for many years the excellent study by the regretted LOUIS GILLET in ANDRE MICHEL'S *Histoire de l'Art* (Vol. VII, Part I) represented practically the only general source of information for the study of that school, a number of books have recently appeared mainly as a result of the historical interest raised by the epoch of Governor Charles of Lorraine and of Prince de Ligne. As MR. P. BAUTIER indicates in his bibliography, an important book by F. M. HUEBNER on *Nederlandsche en Vlamsche Rococoschilders* was published in the Hague in 1943. To our knowledge, no copy of it has as yet reached the United States because of the unfortunate disruption of cultural relations between this continent and Europe. Monographs have been devoted to such artists as P. J. Verhaegen and Leonard Lefranc.

Nevertheless, Belgian painting of that period has as a rule been disdained, and even J. DUJARDIN entitled the fourth volume of his *History of Flemish Art* devoted to this period—*Decadence.* It has been currently said in regard to this chapter of Belgian art: "There are artists, but there is no longer any Belgian art," and this, in the opinion of MR. BAUTIER, was definitely being unjust to the school, which as a matter of fact was only suffering from the notoriety of its direct predecessor — the Flemish XVII Century.

In this volume, which the author's modesty presents as an album, MR. BAUTIER shows us the production of the little Belgian masters of the XVIII Century in all its amazing richness and variety. Genre painting, individual and collective portraits, still lifes (vegetables, flowers and fruit painting), anecdotic art full of savor, official painting, battle painting and the painting of history or devotion, are all passed in review and thoroughly discussed. The author speaks also of each and every center of production: Antwerp with its ancient guild, Bruges, Ghent, Liege. From among all the mentioned personalities and dynasties of artists, a central figure emerges. It is that of P. J. Verhaegen, the Louvains Tiepolo, whose biography is allotted several pages. Others are mentioned and outlined with an incisive, precise, sometimes hasty, stroke of the pen.

Toward the end of the book we feel the impact of David upon this whole school, except, perhaps, upon some intransigeant rustic and isolated artists independent of, and resistant to any influence, this being a characteristic of the soil and spirit of Belgium in all its fields of activity. David's utterly cold influence has especially touched the group of Frenchified Belgians, such as the amazing Senave, or the *"ignare"* Suvee, quite a number of whose sanguines might be taken for works of Hubert Robert. The same is true of the entire circle of artists which surrounded Empress Josephine: Ommeganck, Demarne, Sauvage, van Dael, Redouté, and other painters whose portraits are to be found in the famous painting, the *Studio of Isabey* by Boilly, and whose names are found in the manuscript catalogue of the personal collection of Empress Josephine.

It is abroad that MR. BAUTIER has found a large part of his data, which is not surprising when one remembers the rapid expansion enjoyed in the XVIII Century by this type of art which pleased the taste of the amateurs outside of Belgium as much as within. Flemish artists came to live in Paris in the overcrowded and so popular section around the Rue du Four and the Rue du Dragon, in Lyons, or in Bordeaux. A large number of others invaded the nothern provinces of the country. Others were regularly bringing their works to the fairs and to some small independent salons of Paris. To follow this trend we have only to look carefully through the very rare copies of the catalogues of the Salon de la Correspondance or the *Livret* of the first Salon of the Academy (1791) organized after the revolutionary abolition of the privileges. German princes show themselves equally interested by these artists, whom they were discovering in Brussels or who were coming to their courts in Munich or in Vienna. Artists like Nollekens, Angelis, Tillemans, enjoy the favor of British clientele. Finally, we find the "fiamminghi" who never deserted the Eternal City. These are the best representatives of the school, proud of a long line of artistic nobility, of a strong corporative tradition, and of their superiority as clever and experienced practitioners, as well as of all their, real or fictitious, pretentions of knowing magical recipes —the *"arcana"* (secrets) of the guilds, such as, for instance, the secret of that incomparable "Flemish varnish" which the landscapist H. J. Antonissen was so elated over possessing.

In the United States, the examination of the catalogues of public sales of the first half of the last century reveals that the same — though here a little tardy — taste has manifested itself here. It favors especially the respective merits of artists such as Theobald Michau or the Horemans dynasty of painters, three members of which are, through a piece of good fortune, well represented in the city of New York — in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and in the New-York Historical Society.

For those who remember the exhibition of a selection of works of Belgian art of the XVIII Century held at the Brussels Museum in 1930, the volume under discussion will serve as an excellent refresher. For others, more numerous, it will serve as an introduction to the study of a fascinating chapter of a vanished past which, however, retains all its vitality and which it would be quite erroneous to consider as having been dedicated merely to the *joie de vivre.* It will also serve as a good and reliable guide for future encounters with Flemish XVIII Century *"bambochades"* and *"magots"* to which MR. BAUTIER'S book restores all their value.

MICHEL N. BENISOVICH.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

HERBERT FRIEDMANN, Curator of Birds in the United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., is a zoologist by profession and an art historian and iconographer by avocation. Author of a book on *The Symbolic Goldfinch,* he is now working on a series of articles centering around the identification and symbolic implications of animals and plants in Renaissance art. In this issue he studies *The Symbolism of Crivelli's "Madonna and Child Enthroned with Donor" in the National Gallery* . . . page 64

JACOB HESS, a researcher of long standing in the field of art, studied in Munich where he received his Ph.D. degree, and also worked in Rome (1933-1939) and in London (since 1939). He has traveled extensively in France, Italy and Spain. Among his published works are: an annotated edition of Passeri's *Vite* (1933); *Agostino Tassi* (1935); and articles in French, Italian, English and German periodicals, all on XVI- and XVII-Century art, chiefly Italian. To the same field of study belongs his first article appearing in this issue: *On Raphael and Giulio Romano* . . . . page 73

M.-E. SAINTE-BEUVE wears one of the most famed names in the annals of arts and letters of France, being a descendant of the great author of *Lundis,* still universally considered as the "prince of art critics." A graduate of the Ecole du Louvre, she has discovered a long series of valuable documents on French monuments of art — the tombs of Turenne, Lully and Richelieu in particular — by means of systematic and thorough exploration of ancient archives, especially those of old notary offices. Her article in the current issue, on *The Mausoleum of Casimir, King of Poland* . . . . page 107 is a result of that research.

HUGUES LE GALLAIS, Minister of Luxembourg in Washington, has traveled extensively and for many years resided in the Far East. A connoisseur and collector of Chinese and Japanese art, he had an article, *Trois Paravents Japonais,* published in 1933 in the French edition of the "Gazette." Returning to art research after war years entirely devoted to his activity as a diplomat, he wrote for the March-April, 1947 issue of the "Gazette" an article on *Animals Acting as Humans on Two Japanese Paintings,* followed in this issue by his study of *A Pair of Japanese Temple Guardians* . . . . page 115

DAPHNE M. HOFFMAN, who received her B.A. degree (*magna cum laude*) from Indiana University (1912) and her M.A. at Wellesley College (1913), has been for many years a reference worker and translator on the staff of the Frick Art Reference Library. The Dutch school of painting belongs to her special field of work. In the course of her research at the Library, she came across a valuable *addendum* to the article by Dr. Otto Benesch (Sept. 1946 issue of the "Gazette"), which is published here as *A Postscript: "Head of a Little Girl Wearing a Cap," by Van Dyck* . . . . page 125

BIBLIOGRAPHY in this issue . . . . page 127 is by DOROTHY KENT HILL, Curator of Ancient Art, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md., and by MICHEL N. BENISOVICH, author of numerous articles on XVIII Century French Art.

The illustration on the cover is a detail of: Carlo Crivelli. — Madonna and Child Enthroned with Donor. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

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